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NAZI PLANS FOR DOMINATING GERMANY AND EUROPE

Draft for the War Crimes Staff

7 August 1945

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I. INTRODUCTION

This paper attempts to demonstrate the existence of a comprehensive Nazi plan for aggression, conquest, and domination in Europe and even beyond Europe. The plan was conceived and developed chiefly by the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) with its affiliated and supervised organizations, in conjunction with certain influential circles among the German armed forces, the high civil service, and the industrial leadership of Germany. The scope, details, and instruments of the plan were developed in several stages, which may roughly be defined as (1) from 1920 to 1933, the year in which the Nazis seized power in Germany; (2) 1933 to 1934, in which year they completed the establishment of totalitarian control over Germany; (3) 1934 to 1939, during which period they carried out their total prepation for the war of aggression; (4) 1939 to 1944, in which years they executed their policy of domination throughout the occupied parts of Europe. On all four stages, the execution of the plan involved the use of unlawful means.

II. THE ROLE OF THE PARTY IN THE NAZI PLAN FOR DOMINATION

A. The NSDAP, its Origins and Early Development

The chief actor in the Nazi plan for domination was the NSDAP. According to Hitler's own account in Mein Kampf, and according to authoritative Nazi publications,[1] the first organizational nucleus of the NSDAP was the German Workers' Party, founded in January 1919 in Munich by Anton Drexler. In the same year, Adolf Hitler, then still a soldier in the Reichswehr, contacted the German Workers' Party, in his own words, "on superior orders" by the military authorities. He participated in the discussions of the Party, which, in the following year (1920), assumed the name of National Socialist German Workers' Party, and he acquired a Party organ of his own, the Völkische Beobachter. The first major public meeting of the NSDAP took place in Munich on 24 February 1920, with Hitler as speaker. At this meeting, Hitler publicly announced the program of the Party (see below). On 1 August 1921, Hitler was elected "Leader" of the Party. The first Party Congress took place on 27 January 1923.

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1) The following account is based primarily on Hitler, Mein Kampf, chapters VIII, IX, and XI, and on Johann von Leers, Kurzgefasste Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus, published with the approval of the Party official Examination Commission for the Protection of NS Literature, Bielefeld and Leipzig 1933. Additional evidence can be found in the facsimiles of Party posters in the Houghton Mifflin edition of Mein Kampf.

Whereas the original group reportedly consisted of only seven members, the Party membership rose, according to the official Party statistics,1) to 849,009 in January 1933, prior to the installation of the Nazi Government. In 1935, the Party counted 2,493,890 members, 5.2 per cent of whom had joined prior to 14 September 1930, and 28.8 per cent from 14 September 1930 to 30 January 1933, the day of the establishment of the Nazi Government. The Party participated for the first time in the Reichstag elections in 1924, when it obtained 32 seats or 6.5 per cent of the total vote; in 1932, in the last free election, it obtained 196 seats or 33.1 per cent of the total vote.

Beginning in 1921 with the establishment of the *Sturm Abteilungen* (SA), the Party founded numerous formations and affiliated and supervised organizations2) which, after the seizure of power, covered all fields of public life (political, economic, cultural, military, etc.).

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1) *Partei Statistik*, ed. *Der Reichsorganisationsleiter de NSDAP*, 1935, vol. 1, p. 12-13.

2) See the War Crimes paper "Principal Nazi Organizations Involved in the Commission of War Crimes", R&A Report No. 3113.

Prior to 1933, the most active of these organizations were the SA (established in 1921) and the SS (established 1923 and reorganized in 1925), para-military organizations which were the chief instruments in the terroristie activity of the NSDAP. 1/

After the seizure of power on 30 January 1933, the NSDAP was made the sole political party in Germany and "the sole bearer of the German,state idea". 2/ At the same time, personal identity was established between the Party leadership and, holders of key positions in the Government; Hitler as the Leader of the Party became Chancellor of the Reich; General von Blomberg, Divisional Commander of the Reichswehr, joined the Hitler government as War Minister, and the Party established control over all spheres of business, culture and education, Totalitarian control over all media of public opinion and communication was centralized in the Reich Ministry of Propaganda and Popular Enlightenment, headed by Goebbels. From 1933-34 onward, totalitarian amalgamation between the NSDAP and the Government prevailed throughout the territory of the Reich. 3/

1/ See below, sec. IV, A.
2/ Law for Safeguarding the Unity of Party and State, 1 December 1933, *Reichsgesetzblatt* 1933, I, p-523.
3/ See V C below.

B. The Key Figures

The persons who, during the time of the formulation of the Party program, and during the building up of the basic organizational structure (roughly 1920-23), played the decisive part in the NSDAP were, in addition to Hitler: 1/

Hermann Esser, chief editor of the Völkische Beobachter, (VB) in 1920
Dietrich Eckart, chief editor of the VB in 1921 (together with Alfred Rosenberg)
Rudolf Hess, who joined the NSDAP in June 1920
Alfred Rosenberg, chief editor of the VB 1921 (together with Dietrich Eckart)
Max Amann, Geschaftsführer of the NSDAP in 1921
Gottfried Feder, political lecturer in 1919-20, and official commentator of the Party program
Wilhelm Frick, Hitler's protector in the Munich Police Directorate in 1920-23

This group of key party men was later joined by others who became Hitler's close advisors and collaborators - notably Göring, Goebbels, Himmler, Bormann, Ribbentrop, etc.

1/ Based chiefly on Das Deutsche Führerlexikon 1934-35, and other party-approved biographies; also Mein Kampf. Of these persons, Dietrich Eckart died in 1923, and Gottfried Feder receded into the background, but all the others obtained leading positions in the Party or in the Reich Government after the seizure of power.

After the seizure of power, it may be said that aside from Hitler, members of the following groups were mainly responsible for the formulation and execution of Party policy: 1/

the Reichsleiter of the NSDAP
the heads of the Reichsdienststellen of the NSDAP
the Gauleiter
the heads of the formations, and affiliated and supervised organizations

This paper does not attempt to fasten responsibility for the instigation and execution of specific war crimes on any specific individuals, groups, or organizations. However, the fact that the objectives of the NSDAP were publicly stated, and that every Party member was obligated to know and to fight for the realization of these objectives (see II D 1 and 2 below), makes every member of the NSDAP who voluntarily joined the Party co-responsible. The same holds true for the affiliated and supervised organizations.

After the seizure of power and the complete amalgamation between NSDAP and Government (see V C below) under Nazi control, the objectives of the NSDAP became also those of the German Government.

1/ See the War Crimes paper "Principal Nazi Organizations Involved in the Commission of War Crimes," R&A Report #3113.

From this time onward, therefore, the leading government authorities share responsibility with the Nazi Party.

C. Objectives

The objectives of the NSDAP are to be found in the following sources:

1. The program of the NSDAP, the so-called 25 Points (1920). The program was declared "unchangeable" (unabänderlich) by the General Meeting of Party program on 22 May 1926. 1/

After the seizure of power, the official Nationalsozialistisches Jahrbuch called the Party program the "fundamental political law of the state." 2/

2. Hitler's book Mein Kampf, written in 1924.
3. Books, pamphlets, articles, and speeches by leading persons in the NSDAP and its affiliated organizations, such as the persons mentioned above.
4. Articles in the press of the NSDAP, chiefly the Völkische Beobachter and its subsidiaries; also the Angriff, and the Stürmer.

1/ Gottfried Feder, Das Programm der NSDAP. Munchen 1933. p. 20.
2/ Edited in collaberation with the Reichsleitung of the NSDAP by Reichsleiter Phillip Bouhler; 1938 ed, p. 146.

5. The evidence brought forth in the trials for high treason against Hitler and others in 1924 and 1930. 1/

The Program of the NSDAP (1920) contained the chief elements of the Nazi plan for domination and conquest:

a. Incorporation of all Germans into a Greater German Reich (point 1).
b. Abolition of the peace treaties of Versailles and St. Germain (point 2).
c. Demand for "land and soil (colonies) (point 3). 2/
d. Racial discrimination and anti-Semitism (point 4).
e. Fight against the democratic-parliamentary system (point 6).
f. Rearmament (point 22).

The text of the Party Program is appended (Appendix E).

1/ Files on these trials should be secured in Munich and Leipzig from the courts concerned: People's court of Munich, District One; Decision Rendered on 1 April 1924; and Supreme *Reichsgericht* at Leipzig; File number, 12 V. 10/1930; also to be found in *Die Justiz*, Vol. 6, January 1931. Also to be examined are documents published by the Investigating Commission of the Bavarian Diet on the Hitler Putsch, and *Hitler und Vahr, die bayerischen Napoleonsgrossen von 1923*, edited by the *Landesauschusse* of the Social Democratic Party of Bavaria, Munich; part I, 1928; part II, 1928.

2/ Though this point did not refer to claims for "land and soil" *in Europe* at the time of the program's formulation, it was later interpreted to mean this. At any rate, point one adequately covered the demand for *Lebensraum*.

In point of fact, the objectives of the NSDAP were much more far-reaching than the brief and careful formulations of the Program indicate. This becomes clear if they are taken in conjunction with the other sources enumerated in II C above. Viewed in this context, and in the light of the activities of the NSDAP from 1920 to the seizure of power, the objectives may be described as follows:

a. Overthrow of the established democratic-parliamentary government of Germany by all means, legal and illegal.
b. Establishment of a totalitarian Nazi dictatorship with complete elimination of all political, ideological, religious, racial and other opposition, and with the abolition of civil rights and liberties.
c. Full-fledged rearmament of Germany and systematic preparation for war in all fields of social, economic, and cultural life.
d. Use of the new military force for incorporating foreign territory into the German Reich and occupying more territory for the German "living space."

The fact that the NSDAP had these objectives, and that they were systematically executed through the use of force, violence, and other unlawful means, will be demonstrated in the following chapters.

D. Special Characteristics

1. The Leadership Principle.

The NSDAP was organized according to the "leadership principle": "The *Führer* idea is the basis for the organization of the Party." 1/ This meant that the Party was governed and administered by the authority of the *Führer*, whose decrees, orders, and decisions were the supreme law of the Party simply by virtue of the fact that they emanated from him. As it was officially stated: "The will of the *Führer* is the supreme law in the Party." 2/ The will of the *Führer* involves not only absolute authority, which had to be obeyed unquestioningly, but also infallibility. "The *Führer* is always right" said the first of the Commandments for the National Socialist. 3/ The Party Program, given by the *Führer*, had, for every member, the authority of a dogma: "The Program shall be a dogma to you: it demands of you the utmost devotion to the Movement." 4/

1/ *Organisationsbuch der NSDAP*, ed. the *Reichsorganisationsleiter der NSDAP*. *Zentralverlag der NSDAP*, Munich 1943, p. 14.

2/ *Ibid.* p. 146.

3/ *Ibid.* p. 7.

4/ *Ibid.*

While the leadership principle assured the binding nature of Hitler's statements and declarations for the aims and policies of the entire Party and, through it, for the entire movement, the same principle established the full responsibility of all individual "sub-leaders" within the province and jurisdiction of their office or position. 1/ For the leadership principle applied not only to Hitler as the supreme leader, but also to all the various sub-leaders under him, and thus permeated the entire Nazi hierarchy. The various Hoheitsträger of the Party were, in their respective provinces, themselves Führer: every Political Leader (Politischer Leiter) was a "political Führer!" 2/ and the entire Party was an Order of Leaders (Führerorden).3/ The National Socialist idea of leadership presupposed a "full feeling of responsibility" 4/ in every leader. By the same token, every leader was vested with full authority in his province (Hoheitsgebiet):

1/ For a full exposition of the "leadership principle" see the War Crimes paper on "The Leadership Principle, in German-Law and its Significance in Assigning Responsibility for War Crimes," R&A Report No. 3110.

2/ Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, loc. cit., p. 14

3/ Ibid., p. 86

4/ Ibid. p. 87.

> "The Hoheitsträger, for example, is superior (Vorgesetzter) to all Political Leaders in his Hoheitsgebiet. He possesses in every respect unconditional authority (unbedingte Anordnungsgewalt) with regard to them." 1/

However, this does not free the sub-leaders from the obligation of unconditional obedience to the Führer:

> "All Political Leaders are to be considered (gelten) as appointed by the Führer and are responsible to him." 2/

but:

> "They enjoy full authority over those below." 3/

2. Advocacy of Direct Action.

The NSDAP differed from most political parties by the fact that it bound its members much more closely to the principles and objectives of the Party, and that it was in all its parts geared to direct action, endorsing illegal and unlawful action whenever such was deemed necessary to promote the Party's goals.

As to the first, Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, in laying down the organizational principles of the NSDAP, 4/ contrasted it with the "bourgeois parties" in that all members of the NSDAP were bound to fight actively for the aims of the

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1/ *Ibid.* p. 17
2/ *Ibid.* p. 14
3/ *Ibid.*
4/ Volume II, chapter I, and *passim.*

Party, to "stand up for them and to spread them," to "exchange the slogan of a weak and cowardly defense with the battle cry of courageous and brutal attack." Accordingly, Hitler distinguished sharply between mere "followers" and actual "members," and reserved membership only for the most valuable and reliable candidates. By the same token, membership in the Party was, at least up to 1933-1934, entirely voluntary (as it was for the SA and SS), and the members formed "a definitely limited, tightly organized political community of believers and fighters, uniform in spirit and will power...." 1/

That the NSDAP was a party of direct action follows almost inevitably from its fundamental opposition to the democratic-parliamentary system. 2/ The party did not recognize the democratic processes as binding and used them only as an instrument for boring from within and for enhancing its opportunities for Nazi propaganda. 3/ For the same reason, the Party leadership openly endorsed the illegal struggle against the established government, and made exten-

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1/ *Ibid. loc. cit.* p. 576 f. - Additional evidence is to be found in: Robert M.W. Kempner, *Nazi Subversive Organization, Past and Future*; *Studies in Migration and Settlement*, no. A-2, 30 October 1943, pp. 17-22.

2/ See Chapter III below.

3/ See *Ibid* IV A.

sive use of unlawful means. 1/

E. Early Supporters

1. The Reichswehr.

That Hitler worked as a political agent of the Reichswehr as early as 1919 is demonstrated by his own account in *Mein Kampf*. There he relates that in May 1919, while doing service in the Reichswehr, he "was summoned to join a commission for the examination of the events of the revolution in the Second Infantry Regiment." 2/ He was reportedly instrumental in singling out the "red" soldiers for execution. A little later, he says that:

> "One day I received orders from my headquarters (*von der mir vorgesetzten Dienststelle*) to find out what was behind an apparently political society which, under the name of 'German Workers' Party', intended to hold a meeting on one of the following days..." 3/

This is confirmed by the short biographical note on Hitler in Cuno Horkenbach's, *Das Deutsche Reich von 1918 bis Heute*, edited with the help of "Reich and State Authorities" in 1935; which describes him as

> "until 1920 in the Reichswehr, entrusted with the functions of a *Bildungsoffizier*" (officer for

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1/ See *Ibid.*, IV A and the war crimes paper "The Attitude of the NSDAP toward Political Terror." R&A Report #3114.1

2/ *Loc. cit.*, p. 279

3/ *Ibid.*, p. 291

political training). 1/

From that time on until 1933, the relations between the Army and the NSDAP were veiled in secrecy; and after 1923 the Reichswehr withdrew officially from politics, and its open reunion with the Nazi movement took place only after Hitler's seizure of power. 2/

2. The Free Corps

The Free Corps were para-military organizations which sprang up at the end of the First World War. They did not recognize the stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles and fought a private war on their own in order to retain the old German frontiers, especially in the East. They were, moreover, violently opposed to the democratic government of the Weimar Republic and engaged in a bitter terroristic campaign against its supporters. 3/ The Free Corps were thus in their basic objectives in agreement with those of the early Nazi movement; many of the Free Corps leaders, indeed, later became prominent in the Party. 4/

1/ Berlin, 1935, p. 958

2/ See V/C below.

3/ See below IV A, and the war crimes paper on "The Attitude of the NSDAP Toward Political Terror," R&A Report No. 3114.1, and "The Pattern of Illegal Anti-Democratic Activity in Germany after the last War; the Free Corps," R & A Report 1934.2

4/ Ibid.

3. The Industrialists.

The point at which influential industrial circles started to support the NSDAP is still unclear. By 1923, however, contact between the Party and one of the most important industrial combines of Germany had already been established, and financial contributions were forthcoming. This is the testimoney of the magnate, Fritz Thyssen. He relates that, in 1923, he met General Ludendorff, who told him that the NSDAP was the only party capable of accomplishing "national recovery." Thyssen writes:

> "I followed his advice. I attended several public meetings organized by Hitler. It was then that I realized his oratorical gifts and his ability to lead the masses. What impressed me most, however, was the order that reigned in his meetings, the almost military discipline of his followers." 1/

A few days later, Thyssen met Hitler personally in the presence of Ludendorff:

> "Ludendorff and Hitler agreed to undertake a military expedition against Saxony in order to depose the Communist government of Dr. Zeigner. The ultimate aim of the proposed expedition was to overthrow the Weimar democracy, whose weakness was leading Germany into anarchy.
> Funds were lacking...., He (Ludendorff) had already solicited and obtained the help of several industrialists, particularly that of Herr Minnoux of the Stinnes firm. For my part, I gave him about one

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1/ Fritz Thyssen, I Paid Hitler, New York and London, 1941, p. 111

> hundred thousand gold marks. This was my first contribution to the National Socialist Party." 1/

This testimony of Thyssen's also confirms the fact that the overthrow of the established democratic government by force was the avowed aim of the NSDAP, and that certain industrialists actively supported this aim. That financial support by heavy industry continued during the following years and that contact was maintained between the NSDAP and the Rhenish-Westphalian Coal Syndicate is indicated in another statement by Fritz Thyssen. According to Thyssen, in 1928 Rudolf Hess approached him

> "on the initiative of old Geheimrat Kirdorf, for many years the director general of the Rhenish-Westphalian Coal Syndicate, with whom I was on friendly terms. Hess explained to me that the Nazis had bought the Brown House and had great difficulty in paying for it. I placed Hess in possession of the required funds on conditions which, however, he has never fulfilled." 2/

It is noteworthy that, in 1928, Thyssen was Chairman of the Board of Vereinigte Stahlwerke, the greatest German steel combine. Thyssen furthermore states that "Kirdorf had been a member of the National Socialist Party long before me." 3/

1/ Ibid., p.113-114. In view of the scantiness of information on the relations between heavy industry and the NSDAP during the early period, an interrogation of Fritz Thyssen on this point would be of utmost importance.

2/ Ibid,, p. 129.

3/ Ibid.

Contributions on a large scale by German industry to the NSDAP, however, were probably not made before 1932; they are discussed in IV B below.

III. THE MASTER PLAN AND THE STAGES OF ITS EXECUTION

The execution of the Nazi program necessitated the development of a comprehensive plan covering domestic as well as foreign policy, activities in Germany as well as in foreign countries.

When the Nazis began their activity shortly after the end of the first World War, they were faced with a parliamentary-democratic German government committed to the fulfillment of the Treaty of Versailles. The majority of the German population, moreover, supported the Government and was set against a foreign policy of aggressive expansion. Consequently, in order to be able to achieve their goal, the Nazis had to begin by overthrowing the democratic-parliamentary government of the Weimar Republic. Moreover, since a great part of the German population remained opposed to the Nazi program, and since the realization of the program required the total mobilization of Germany, the Nazis had to strive for the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship. The struggle against the democratic-parliamentary government and the fight for a totalitarian dictatorship were therefore the first stage of the execution of the Nazi master plan. This stage was completed in 1933. After the Nazi Government had been installed in power in 1933, it had to establish totalitarian control over all spheres of public and private life, for the preservation of democratic rights and liberties was incompatible with its authoritarian philosophy and with its determination to stay in power. This stage of the master plan involved the elimination of the entire political, ideological, racial, and religious opposition, unlimited control over all media of communication, over education and welfare, over the entire machinery of administration, etc. This task was carried out during the first years of the Nazi regime.

With the establishment of totalitarian control over Germany and the elimination of all opposition, the Nazis concentrated on "all-out" preparation for the war of aggression. This preparation took place on at least three levels:

a. ideologically: the development of the conception of Lebensraum and of the racial superiority of the Germans;

b. militarily: the building up of the German Wehrmacht in all its branches, and the transformation of the entire national economy into a war economy;

c. politically, economically, culturally, **infiltration** and Fifth Column activity in foreign countries.

Germany's new war potential was then systematically tested by open military action: in the Rhineland occupation, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia.

After these tests had proved successful, the Nazi Government in 1939 launched the European war. The master plan reached its final stage with the conquest of the greatest part of the European Lebensraum for Germany; the conquered territories were transformed into parts of the German living space and ruthlessly exploited and despoiled for the benefit of the German war machine and in the interests of permanent German domination of the continent,

In one of his surveys of the history of the Nazi movement, Hitler himself described the above outlined four stages of the Master plan as the four great tasks of the Nazi regime: 1/

"Task No. 1-- By the solution of social problems,

1/ Speech of 30 January 1944, English translation as broadcast by Berlin on the same date. (FCC:Daily, Special Report,31 January 1944.)

> the Reich had again to acquire its lost internal social peace; that is, the elements of class cleavage--the bourgeoisie and the proletariat--had to be eliminated in all their manifestations, and in their place a national community set up. The appeal to reason had to be supplemented with a ruthless elimination of the viciously resisting elements in all camps.
>
> "Task No. 2--The social-political unity of the Nation was to be supplemented by national-political unity; that is, in place of the Reich body rent asunder not only politically but also in its statehood, the National Socialist unified State had to arise, with a structure and with a leadership equipped to face and withstand even the greatest trials of attack and pressure.
>
> "Task No. 3--The unified State built upon national and politicalfoundations had the task of immediately creating that Wehrmacht which in its intellectual outlook and moral attitude, its numerical strength, and in its material armament could serve as a satisfactory instrument in the tasks of self-assertion. After the rest of the world had rejected all German offers for the limitation of armaments, the Reich had to fashion its own armament accordingly.
>
> "Task No. 4--In order to be able at all to maintain her position in Europe with a chance of success, there was necessary the incorporation of all those countries which are populated by Germans or which constitute areas belonging to the German Reich for more than a thousand years and which are territories indispensable nationally and economically, for the preservation of the Reich, that is, for its political and military defense."

The execution of the master plan involved on all stages the use of force, violence, and other unlawful means. This followed in a general way from the principles of Nazi philosophy, which rejected pacifism, humanitarianism, and democratic values as decadent cowardice, and which proclaimed the natural right of the strong and of the sword. The use of force and other unlawful means was furthermore necessitated by:

1. The outspoken aim of the Nazi movement of replacing the democratic-partiamentary system by a Nazi dictatorship (documentation below in Ch. IV);
2. The outspoken aim of eliminating all opposition ruthlessly and with all available means (documentation below in Ch. V, A.);
3. The outspoken aim of disregarding "artificial" national frontiers and of carrying out Nazi propaganda and activities in foreign countries (documentation below Ch. VI, B.);
4. The declared Nazi policy of treating occupied territories as parts of the German Lebensraum and of mobilizing them totally for the German war machine (documentation below, Ch VII.).

There are, moreover, numerous statements by responsible Nazi leaders explicitly endorsing the use of force and other unlawful means (quoted below, passim).

IV. THE OVERTHROW OF THE DEMOCRATIC-PARLIAMENTARY GERMAN GOVERNMENT AND THE FIGHT FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NAZI DICTATORSHIP

In order to conquer new German living space, the Nazis had first to seize power in Germany and to prepare Germany for the event of war:

> "For oppressed countries will not be brought back into the bosom of the common Reich by means of fiery protests, but by a mighty sword. To forge this sword is the task of the domestic political leadership of a people; to guard the work of forging and to seek comrades in arms is the task of the foreign policy leadership." 1/

The domestic policy of the Nazis was thus the first stage in their foreign policy of aggression and conquest, This policy involved the overthrow of the established democratic-parliamentary government of the Weimar Republic by a Nazi dictatorship.

A. Political Terror against the Democratic Government

The German state as it was established after the downfall of the monarchy was a parliamentary democracy. Within the framework of this democracy, preparation for the establishment of German supremacy over Europe was impossible because of opposition from the democratic parties, which were committed to a policy of peaceful international coopera-

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1/ Hitler, Mein Kampf, Houghton Mifflin edition, Boston 1939, p. 891

tion, and to fulfillment of the Versailles Treaty or its revision by legal and peaceful means. As the election figures from 1919 to Hitler's rise to power show, the anti-militarist and anti-expansionist parties were consistently backed by the majority of the population.

Under these circumstances, the removal of the democratic-parliamentary government was the precondition for the attainment of the goals of Nazism.

> "From the very first day the watchword was: unlimited struggle against Berlin....One thing was certain: Lossow, Kahr, and Seisser had the same goal that we had: to get rid of the Reich government with its present international and parliamentary position and to replace it by an anti-parliamentary government." 1/

That destruction of the Weimar Constitution and of the parliamentary system was the goal of the Nazi movement 2/ was established by the People's Court of Munich, District 1, on 1 April 1924, after reviewing the evidence produced at the trial of the Nazi leaders for the unsuccessful Hitler putsch of November 1923. After the putsch, the goal remained the same.

1/ Hitler's speech before the Munich court, 26 February 1924 (My New Order, New York 1941, p. 74, 75).

2/ Cited in: Robert M. W. Kempner, Nazi Subversive Organization - Past and Future. Studies of Migration and Settlement, No. A-2. Administrative Series, 30 October 1943, p. 73.

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1/ Hitler's speech before the Munich court, 26 February 1924 (My New Order, New York 1941, p. 74, 75).

2/ Cited in: Robert M. W. Kempner, Nazi Subversive Organization - Past and Future. Studies of Migration and Settlement, No. A-2. Administrative Series, 30 October 1943, p. 73.

In 1927, for example, Wilhelm Frick declared that:

> "our next goal still remains the conquest of the political power of the state; it is the prerequisite for the realization of our ideals." 1/

The "unlimited" struggle of the Nazis was directed against the democratic-parliamentary system as such, because this system everywhere stood in the way of the dictatorial leadership and control which was the aim of the Nazi movement:

> "The character of the parliament...obstructs this unifying leadership..." ...." so the first act of annihilation must be directed against the Jewish-democratic parliamentarism." 2/

> "The parliamentary system is nothing more than a state-sanctioned nuisance and a Jewish racket. Do you know the difference between the parliamentarian system and the skin of a sausage? Both are only fit for a cat." 3/

Gottfried Feder, the official interpreter of the Nazi Party program, stated that:

> "the nuisance of the parliamentarian-democratic right to vote will be swept away." 4/

"The National Socialists long for the day when the

1/ Nationalsozialistisches Jahrbuch 1927, p.124 (quoted in Kempner, loc. cit., p. 62.)

2/ Heinz Haake (Reich Inspector of the NSDAP, SA Obergruppenführer, Landeshauptmann Rhineland) Nationalsozialistisches Jahrbuch 1925, p. 167 (quoted ibid., p. 61).

3/ Albert Roth, Nazi Reichstag Deputy, 1929 (quoted ibid., p.63).

4/ Nationalsozialistische Bibliothek, Booklet No. 1 (quoted ibid.).

> well-known lieutenant with his ten men will put an inglorious but well-deserved end to this infernal sham (the parliament) and will open the way for a racial dictatorship." 1/

In his booklet Der Nazi-Sozi, Goebbels openly claimed the right of the Nazi movement to seize the statepower and to shape the state by dictatorial force:

> "History is replete with examples showing that a young and determined minority has always been able to overthrow the rule of a corrupt and disintegrated majority... Thus it will be with us. Once we have conquered the state, the state is ours. Then shall we, and we alone, be responsible bearers of the state....Then, by dictatorial force, we will reshape the state according to our principles." 2/

The Nazi party units were to be trained systematically "in the nature of dictatorship" for the day of the seizure of power.For example,in the official collection of organizational circulars published by the Gau Headquarters of Greater Berlin, there appears the following statement:

> "The Party, or rather its units, must be the school through which he (the National Socialist) must pass to obtain practical training in the nature of the dictatorship, so that he can begin the real work on the day that power is won." 3/

1/ Wilhelm Frick at the Nazi Party Convention at Nurnberg 1927 (quoted ibid., p. 85).

2/ P. 16 (quoted in Kempner, loc. cit., p. 91-92).

3/ Quoted ibid., p. 107.

Hitler's emphasis on the "unlimited character" of the struggle against the established form of government indicates the endorsement of force and other unlawful means. Such endorsement was repeatedly proclaimed by the Nazi leadership:

> "We are not afraid to engage in political activities, though we be condemned as illegal." 1/
>
> "Should the Party be prohibited, then we shall continue to work illegally." 2/
>
> "---to prepare the downfall of this order and to overthrow it by all available means. " 3/
>
> "Just as Mussolini exterminated the Marxists in Italy, so must we also succeed in accomplishing the same through dictatorship and terror." 4/
>
> "Fight daily and, if it be necessary, on the barricades. This fight will be fought with machine guns, mines, and grenades." 5/
>
> "Adolph Hitler does not leave us the least bit of uncertainty when he says -- In this fight heads will roll in the sand, either theirs or ours. Therefore we must see that it is the heads of others that roll..." 6/

1/ NS Press Korrespondenz no. 35 (quoted in Kempner, p. 38 f.)

2/ Ibid.

3/ Hitler, Mein Kampf, 2nd German edition (quoted ibid., p.73).

4. Wilhelm Frick (quoted ibid., p. 86)

5/ Robert Ley, 1 May 1928 (quoted ibid., p. 101).

6/ Nationalsozialistische Briefe, vol. 4, 15 May 1929 (quoted ibid., p. 105-6).

After the failure of the Hitler putsch of 1923, the Nazi leadership officially abandoned the endorsement of illegal means and oriented the strategy and tactics of the movement on legality. However, the Nazi leadership openly declared that they would use the legal rights and liberties granted to the opposition by the democratic state only in order to undermine and destroy this state. This was brought out specifically when the Nazis decided to enter parliament and to work as a parliamentary party:

> "We enter parliament in order to supply ourselves, in the arsenal of democracy, with its own weapons. We become members of the Reichstag in order to paralyze the Weimar sentiment with its own assistance. If democracy is so stupid as to give us free tickets and *per diem* for this "blockade" (*Barendienst*), that is its own affair." 1/

> "We do not come as friends, nor even as neutrals. We come as enemies: As the wolf bursts into the flock, so we come." 2/

Actually, the terroristic struggle waged by the Nazi Party continued throughout the period of the Weimar Republic

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1/ Goebbels, *Der Angriff*: *Aufsätze aus der Kampfzeit*. 1936, p. 7~~1.~~

2/ *Ibid.*, p. 73, See also pp. 47-48. Also Wilhelm Frick, *Nationalsozialistisches Jahrbuch*, 1927, p. 124 (Kempner p. 62, 84-85).

(see documentation below, V). It should be noted that the statements on the use of violence and terroristic means quoted above refer to the period after 1923. And as late as 1932 Hitler declared:

> "If the present regime does not make way for us, we will remove it." 1/

Indeed, the history of the Nazi movement was, from its inception, a chronicle of all forms of terror: murders, street battles, assaults, blackmail, etc. 2/ It waged its terroristic fight chiefly with organized bands of the Nazi Party and its affiliated para-military organizations. The first reservoir of the Nazi movement was the so-called Free Corps, armed organizations which sprang up immediately after the end of the first World War and which fought a brutal war of their own, not only against the frontier regulations of the Treaty of Versailles but also against the democratic forces in Germany. The criminal history of the Nazi movement begins with the Feme murders committed by these Free Corps; many of the persons involved in these murders subsequently became prominent Nazi leaders, and the ratio of former Free Corps leaders in the Nazi hierarchy was very high.

1/ Munich, 23 January 1932 (Hitler's Speeches, ed.Baynes,p.164).

2/ For documentary evidence of the terroristic activity of the Nazi movement during the period of the Weimar Republic, see the War Crimes paper, R&A,Report No. 3114: "The Attitude of the NSDAP Toward Political Terror"

On 3 August 1921, Hitler established the first of his own para-military organizations, the *SA*. Its avowed task was to make the NSDAP "the master of the street": [1]

> "Possession of the street is the key to the state power -- that was what the *SA* marched and fought for."

In 1923, the *SA* was reorganized into a military unit (*Wehrverband*), to be mobilized for "active resistance against foreign domination" (in the Ruhr territory, then occupied by the French). [2] After the Hitler *putsch* of November 1923, the Reich Commissar for Bavaria, Von Kahr, prohibited the *SA*, but it continued to exist, illegally." [3]

Pfeffer von Salomon, then the Supreme Leader of the *SA*, defined the organization in 1928 as follows:

> "The *SA* is the militant force of the Movement; it is the personification of the will to power of a political organization." [4]

The famous line of the Horst Wessel Song, the official Party anthem -- "Clear the street for the Brown Battalions" -- epitomizes the function of the SA as the terroristic shock troops in the fight for the establishment of the Nazi dictatorship. The same function for the SA is indicated in the statement of Curt von Ulrich, its Inspector General, to the effect that the present rulers will disappear overnight

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[1] Ernst Bayer, *Die SA.*, Berlin 1938, pp. 9, 11.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[4] Quoted in: Kempner, *loc. cit.*, p. 160.

> "when our day comes: free the streets for the Brown Battalions, free the streets for the Storm Troopers." 1/

The other chief terroristic organization of the Nazi movement was the SS. Its nucleus was the Stosstrupp Hitler (Assault Troop Hitler), 2/ founded in 1923; its designation indicates its function. Prohibited in 1923, the SS was reestablished in 1925 as Schutz Staffeln (Protective Guards); 3/ together with the SA, it "protected" Nazi meetings and demonstrations during the following years. Official Nazi sources described the SS as an "ever-reliable troop, an elite troop of the Party," as an "instrument of unconditional utilization (Einsatzmöglichkeit) for the Führer," 4/ and as the "political ideological fighting league (weltanschauliche Kampfbund) of the

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1/ 1929, quoted ibid., p. 164. The SA is discussed in detail in the War Crimes paper on the Nazi Party and its Affiliated Organizations (R&A Report 3113.7).

2/ Gunter d'Alquen, Die SS. Geschichte, Aufgabe und Organisation.., ed. by commission of the Reichsführer SS, Berlin 1939, p. 6.

3/ Ibid., p. 7.

4/ Ibid., pp.8 and 11.

Party." 1/ According to the same sources, the first task of the SS was

> "the protection of the Führer and of the speakers of the Party from bodily attacks by political enemies." 2/

After Hitler's rise to power, the SS developed as the leading and privileged elite organization of the Party and was everywhere, inside and outside the Reich, entrusted with the ruthless execution of Nazi terroristic policies. 3/

That the Nazis actually carried out their terroristic fight against the democratic-parliamentary government, and that they actually used in this fight violence, murder, assault, and other unlawful means, is established by:

1. the court findings in the trial before the Munich People's Court against Hitler and others for high treason (1924);
2. the court findings in the trial before the Reichsgericht against the Ulm Reichswehr officers (1930, file 12 J 10.1930);
3. the court findings in the trials against various individual Nazis, some of which are quoted in R&A Report No. 3114.1,

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1/ Werner Best, Die Deutsche Polizei, Darmstadt 1940, p. 85.
2/ Ibid.
3/ For a more detailed discussion of the SS see the War Crimes paper "Principal Nazi Organizations Involved in War Crimes and their Policy-making Officials," R&A Report No. 3113.

"the Attitude of the NSDAP toward Political Terror";

4. German press reports quoted in the same report.

B. Propaganda for Aggressive Expansion and Acquisition of New Living Space.

The terroristic fight against the established parliamentary-democratic government in Germany was explicitly tied up by the Nazis with the struggle against the Treaty of Versailles, against "internationalism" and "humanitarianism" everywhere, and with the propagation of a "fanatical nationalism" which was to provide the "spiritual" ground for the policy of rearmament and aggressive expansion. The link between the Nazis' domestic and foreign policy becomes clear in Hitler's own words:

> "In the first place, our people must be delivered from the hopeless confusion of international convictions and educated consciously and systematically to fanatical nationalism . . . . Second, insofar as we educate our people to fight against the delirium of democracy and bring it again to the recognition of authority and of leadership, we tear it away from the nonsense of parliamentarianism . . . Third, insofar as we deliver the people from the atmosphere of pitiable belief in possibilities which lie outside the bounds of one's own strength--such as the belief in reconciliation, understanding, world peace, the League of Nations, and international solidarity--we destroy these ideas. There is only one right in the world and this right is one's own strength." 1/

Hitler openly declared that: "My program was to abolish

1/ Hitler, Munich, 22 September 1928; Völkischer Beobachter, 23 September 1928 (Hitler's Words, edited by Gordon W. Prange, 1944, p. 39 f.).

the Treaty of Versailles." 1/ He declared that he was resolved to use illegal means for the attainment of this goal in the trial against the Reichswehr officers at Ulm in 1930. He stated in reply to questions as to the methods he advocated for the revision of the peace treaty:

> "I presume here that we have triumphed. Then we shall fight against the treaties with all means, including those which, in the view of the world, are illegal." 2/

Hitler, moreover, made it clear that abolition of the Treaty of Versailles would be only the first step in the implementation of a plan for expansion beyond the German frontiers of 1914:

> "The frontiers of 1914 signify nothing at all for the future of the German nation. They neither embodied a protection in the past, nor would they embody strength for the future. The German nation will neither maintain its internal integrity through them, nor will its sustenance be guaranteed by them, nor do these frontiers appear appropriate or even satisfactory from a military viewpoint . . ." 3/

The limits of German expansion were only vaguely defined by the Lebensraum to which the Nazis felt the German race was entitled.

1/ Hitler, Berlin, 30 January 1941; Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 1 Feb. 1941 (Hitler's Words, ed. Gordon W. Prange, 1944, p. 216).
2/ Frankfurter Zeitung, 26 September 1930.
3/ Hitler, Mein Kampf, p. 947.

Alfred Rosenberg defined the goal of Nazi foreign policy as follows:

> "To create . . . room for the coming hundred million Germans is the objective of National Socialist foreign policy." 1/

The geographical extent to which the new Lebensraum was to be expanded was left open. However, it was made clear that the living space claimed as German or Germanic would go beyond the frontiers of 1914 (see Hitler's statement quoted above), that it was to be

> "a Nordic Europe, with a German Central Europe", 2/

and that in the

> "great struggle for existence, for honor, freedom, and bread on the part of such a creative nation as Germany, no account can be taken of Poles, Czechs, etc., who are as impotent as they are devoid of values and presumptuous. They must be pushed towards the East, so that the soil may become free for cultivation by Teutonic peasant hands". 3/

To these definitions of the German living space must be added the demands of the Party Program:

> The union of all Germans into a Greater German Reich (point 1), and colonies (point 3).

1/ Alfred Rosenberg, Der Reichsparteitag der NSDAP. Nurnberg 1927; Munchen 1927, pp.37-8 (quoted in F. Schuman, The Nazi Dictatorship, 1939, p. 56).

2/ Alfred Rosenberg, Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts, Munich 1933, p. 642.

3/ Ibid., 1931, p. 662 (quoted in: Thus Speaks Germany, ed. Coole and Potter, New York 1941, p. 261).

According to Gottfried Feder's official interpretation, this meant the

> "establishment of a closed (geschlossenen) national state which comprises all German tribes (Stämme)",

including the Germans in the Sudetenland, Alsace-Lorraine, Poland, Austria, and the Austrian succession states. 1/

In 1927, Alfred Rosenberg, Chief of the Department for Foreign Policy of the NSDAP, published a pamphlet Der Zukunftsweg einer deutschen Aussenpolitik (The Future Road of German Foreign Policy). This pamphlet, in conjunction with the statements quoted on the preceding pages and with Werner Daitz' writings discussed in VII below, demonstrates how closely the actual expansion and aggression of Nazi Germany followed preconceived programs and ideas. Here is the translation of a few pertinent paragraphs: 2/

> "The German awakening must affirm (bejahen) folkish imperialism for the German people insofar as living space is necessary to make possible a healthy, strong existence for the German people. In accordance with geographic conditions this folkish imperialism must take care that this living space is immediately connected with the motherland and does not suffer the same fate as the power efforts (Machtbestrebunjen)

1/ Gottfried Feder, Das Programm der NSDAP, Munich, 1933, p. 40.
2/ A copy of the pamphlet, which was published by Franz Eher in Munich, is available in the Library of Congress.

of the German Middle Ages and the time of the Migration.

"With this recognition that the German people, if it does not want to perish in the true meaning of the word, needs for itself and for its offspring land and soil of its own, and with the second sober understanding that this soil can no longer be conquered in Africa, but must be opened up in Europe and primarily in the east, with this recognition the organic direction of a German foreign policy is established for centuries to come." 1/

"Formulated in a few words, the program is: the British take over the protection of the white race in Africa, in India, and in Australia; North America undertakes the protection of the white race on the American continent, Germany in the whole of Central Europe, in closest alliance with Italy, which receives supervision over the Western Mediterranean and the rule of the Adriatic, in order to isolate France and defeat the French attempts to lead black Africa against white Europe." 2/

"If we have understood that the abolition of the Polish State is Germany's first desideratum, an alliance between Kiev and Berlin and the establishment of a common frontier becomes a folkish and political necessity for a future German policy." 3/

"From the point of view of internal policy, an alliance with the rich southern Ukraine would yield great opportunities for exporting German industrial and chemical products....It suffices if the goals are envisaged by a German politician; then ways and means will be found, to support or to prepare the national Ukrainian revolution against Bolshevik Moscow, in order to create conditions which guarantee Germany space, liberty, and bread." 4/

1/ P. 20-21.
2/ P. 85.
3/ P. 97.
4/ P. 38.

Propaganda for abolition of the Treaty of Versailles, for rearmament, and for acquisition of new living space was perhaps the chief appeal in the Nazi bid for dictatorial power. The Nazi leadership openly declared, as early as the 1920's, that their aims would involve the use of force and the waging of war:

> "The goal of foreign policy is the preservation of a people's means of subsistence; it is nothing else than the preservation of the life of a nation. The path to this goal will, in the final analysis, always be war. The means will be the might of the nation as it is set up in its military organization, plus clever political leadership, which chooses the course of policy wisely and then employs the means ingeniously. Any foreign policy, therefore, is linked up with the power constituted in the nation; and a resourceful organization of this power, namely, the military.
>
> "It is impossible in the long run to carry out our foreign policy without building up the army. If this is not done, the result will always be negative. It is the function of domestic policy to build up the army as a means by which foreign policy can attain its ultimate goals. Domestic policy must follow lines which make possible the creation of powerful armed forces." 1/

Nazi foreign policy, in short, like its domestic program, was from the beginning predicated upon the use of force and aggression:

1/ Hitler, Munich, 22 September 1928; Voelkischer Beobachter, 23-24 September 1928 (quoted in: Hitler's Words, ed. Gordon W. Prange, American Council on Public Affairs, 1944, p. 9 f.

> "There is no distinction between war and peace. Struggle is ever present... The final decision lies with the sword. In the power of the sword lies the vital strength of a nation. There is, therefore, no difference between domestic and foreign policy." 1/

Hitler professed again and again his awareness of the fact that the aims of the Nazi movement would involve the use of force and violence against other nations:

> "If this earth really has room enough for all to live in, then one should give up the space that we need for living. One will certainly not like to do this. Then, however, the right of self-preservation comes into effect; and what has been denied to kindness will have to be taken with the fist." 2/

> "One had to make it clear to oneself that this goal (the acquisition of land in Europe) could be reached only through fighting, and quietly to face the passage at arms." 3/

> "...the new Reich would again have to start marching along the road of the Knights of the Order of former times to give, with the help of the German sword, soil to the plow and daily bread to the nation." 4/

The entire conception was summed up by Goebbels as follows:

> "The only instrument with which one can conduct foreign policy is alone and exclusively the sword." 5/

1/ Hitler, Munich, 2 May 1928; Voelkischer Beobachter, 4 May 1928 (quoted ibid., p. 9).

2/ Hitler, Mein Kampf, loc. cit., p. 179-180.

3/ Ibid., p. 182.

4/ Ibid., pp. 182-183.

5/ Der Angriff, 28 May 1931 (quoted in F. Schuman, The Nazi Dictatorship, p. 129).

Thus, even prior to 1933, the building up of a powerful army became the cornerstone of Nazi policy--an army which, in its organization and strength would go far beyond the defensive force which could be built up within the framework of the Versailles Treaty:

> "We admit freely and openly that, if our movement is victorious, we will be concerned day and night with the question of how to produce the armed forces which are forbidden us by the peace treaty. We solemnly confess that we consider everyone a scoundrel who does not try day and night to figure out a way to violate this treaty, for we have never recognized this treaty.
>
> "We admit, therefore, that as far as we are concerned the German Army in its present form is not permanent. For us it will serve only as a great cadre army, that is, as a source of sergeants and officers. And in the meantime we will be continuously at work filling in the ranks. We will take every step which strengthens our arms, which augments the number of our forces, and which increases the strength of our people.
>
> "We confess further that we will dash anyone to pieces who should dare to hinder us in this undertaking..... Our rights will be protected only when the German Reich is again supported by the point of the German dagger." 1/

The power of this army, and not any legal rights or international agreements, was to be the means by which the expansion of German soil was to be accomplished:

1/ Hitler, Munich, 15 March 1929; Völkischer Beobachter, 17 March 1929 (quoted in: Hitler's Words, p. 11).

> "When nations are in need, they do not ask about legal rights. There is then only one question. Does a people have the power to acquire the soil and territory which it needs?" 1/

> "If you do not give us space on this earth then we ourselves will take this space. That is why we are National Socialists." 2/

In 1928, Hitler reiterated his earlier statement that the acquisition of new soil is to go far beyond any "revision of frontiers" and declared that he would have "enough energy" to lead Germany to war for this goal:

> "We admit that for us the future of Germany does not lie in a mechanical revision of frontiers. In such a case we would again be forced to rely upon world trade, which in turn would make up competitors of four or five other states. That is no future. The National Socialist movement extends far beyond the deceitful level of such a philistine conception. It is the champion of that idea which claims that if we do not acquire more soil then we shall some day perish. We pursue no policy which will not secure the existence of the people for all time . . . . *I believe that I have enough energy to lead our people to war,* and not for the revision of frontiers, but for the deliverance of our people in the most distant future, *so that our people acquire so much territory that the sacrifice in blood can be returned to posterity in fourfold measure.*" 3/

One year before his accession to power, Hitler made his famous speech at the Industry Club in Düsseldorf (27 January 1932).

1/ Hitler, Vilsbiburg (?) 6 March 1927; *Völkischer Beobachter*, 8 March 1927 (Ibid. p. 17).

2/ Hitler, Munich, 9 April 1927; *Völkischer Beobachter*, 12 April 1927 (*Ibid.*, p. 18).

3/ Hitler, Munich 23 May 1928; *Völkischer Beobachter*, 25 May 1928 (*Ibid*. p. 27 f; emphasis supplied.)

This speech, which was arranged by Fritz Thyssen, brought about, according to Thyssen's own testimony, "the connection between Hitler and the entire body of Rhenish-Westphalian industrialists." 1/ The speech established one of the most important links in the Nazi master plan: it won over the leaders of German heavy industry to the Nazi program by demonstrating to their satisfaction that the only solution for Germany's economic and social troubles was the restoration of her power position in the world, and that this could be accomplished not by peaceful economic competition but only by aggressive political and military means:

> ". . . it was not German business which conquered the world and then came the development of German power, but in our case, too, it was the power state (Machtstaat) which created for the business world the general conditions for its subsequent prosperity. In my view it is to put the cart before the horse when today people believe that by business methods they can, for instance, recover Germany's power-position instead of realizing that the power-position is also the condition for the improvement of the economic situation . . . . there can be no economic life unless behind this economic life there stands the determined political will of the nation absolutely ready to strike--and to strike hard." 2/

The Düsseldorf speech helped greatly to convince the industrial leadership of Germany that the Nazi movement was

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1/ Fritz Thyssen, I Paid Hitler, New York and London, 1941, p. 132.

2/ Adolf Hitler, My New Order, New York, 1941, p. 111.

willing and capable of restoring and enhancing their economic and political power. Thyssen reports that:

> "it was during the last years preceding the Nazi seizure of power that the big industrial corporations began to make their contributions." 1/

This was the beginning of the full-fledged cooperation of German industry with the Nazi regime.

V. THE ELIMINATION OF ALL OPPOSITION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TOTALITARIAN CONTROL OVER GERMANY

A. Eradication of the Opposition

The first acts of the Hitler government in 1933 were to abolish civil liberties and to eliminate political, ideological, racial, and religious opposition. The elimination of the opposition was prepared long beforehand as an act of ruthless and totalitarian revenge. This is demonstrated not only by the Nazi leaders' numerous statements that they would erect a racial dictatorship, 2/ but also by their many exhortations, prior to the seizure of power, that the Nazis should store up hatred and revenge until all power was concentrated in the Nazi movement. In doing so, the Nazi leadership declared, they would be able to strike the deadly blow with the greatest effectiveness and the

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1/ Thyssen, Op. cit., pp. 133-134.
2/ See IV A.

least risk. For example, Goebbels said in 1929:

> "To know how to wait is now essential, both for the leaders and the led.... To creep upon the enemy cooly, to feel him out, and ascertain where his most vulnerable spot is, and to throw the spear calmly and with careful aim, so that it will pierce this weakness, and then perhaps to smile pleasantly and say: 'pardon me, neighbor, I cannot do otherwise,' is a dish of vengeance which is enjoyed in cold blood." 1/

The anxious waiting for the "day of reckoning," the "night of the long knives" runs like a leitmotif through the Nazi utterances prior to 1933. The Ten Commandments for Every SA Man contain the following statement:

> "If nothing else is possible, submit yourself to the state's power. But console yourself: our day of reckoning will come." 2/

Gauleiter Terboven, later Nazi Commissioner in Norway, announced in a meeting at Essen on 7 October 1929:

> "Then the people will awaken, then the National Socialists will come to power, and then there will not be enough lampposts in Germany. The present representatives of the German Government will have to answer with their heads to the German people, and particularly to the National Socialists, for their actions in the past." 3/

The late Manfred von Killinger, former German Consul

1/ Goebbels, Der Angriff, 18 February 1929.

2/ Nationalsozialistische Briefe, no. 24, 15 April 1926 (quoted in: Kempner, op. cit, p. 60).

3/ Quoted in Kempner, op. cit, p. 108.

General in San Francisco, German Minister to Rumania, and SA Obergruppenführer, stated in a meeting on 10 November 1929:

> "But take care that some day we do not throw down the gauntlet to you and not, to quote Danton, in the form of a guillotined king's head, but rather with the cut-off heads of your highest politicians." 1/

Finally, Goebbels, in relating a propaganda tour through Berlin in January 1932, remarks at the sight of the "red mob" on the streets:

> "This Gesindel (scum) must one day be exterminated like rats." 2/

Once in power, the Nazi Government proceeded at once to carry out its threat. A number of authoritarian decrees provided the official basis. 3/

The Verordnung des Reichspraesidenten zum Schutz von Volk und Staat of 28 February 1933 suspended articles 114, 115, 117, 118, 123, 124, and 153 of the Constitution of 1918, which guaranteed basic civil rights and liberties. An order of 9 May 1933 confiscated all property of the Social Democratic Party and of its newspapers, as well as of the Reichsbanner

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1/ Quoted ibid., p. 112.
2/ Goebbels, Vom Kaiserhof zur Reichskanzlei, Munich, 1937, p. 34.
3/ They are discussed in detail in the war crimes paper, R&A Report No. 3113.7, on "Crimes Committed in the Violation of German Domestic Law."

(the SPD's para-military formation) and its press. The law of 26 May 1933 confiscated the property of the Communist Party. The decree of the Prussian Prime Minister (Hermann Göring) of 23 June 1933 prohibited all activities of the Social Democratic Party. Finally, the Law against the Formation of Parties of 14 July 1933 made the National Socialist Party the only political party in Germany and outlawed all attempts to maintain the old parties or to form new parties.

Abolition of the trade unions was carried through without even a semblance of legality. On 2 May 1933, _SA_, _SS_, and members of the National Socialist Plant Organization occupied the trade union buildings, removed or arrested the officials, and installed their own "commissars." The funds and property of the trade unions were confiscated and given in "trusteeship" to Robert Ley, leader of the Nazi Labor Front.

The same months saw the first wave of wholesale arrests, internments, and executions of political opponents. They were chiefly carried out by the Secret State Police (Gestapo), [1] which at that time was being organized by Hermann Göring and entrusted to Ministerial Councilor Rudolf Diels. [2] Göring himself assumed personal responsibility for the acts committed by the police:

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[1] See the war crimes paper, R&A Report No. 3152, "Hermann Göring as a War Criminal."

[2] Hermann Göring, _Aufbau einer Nation_, Berlin, 1934, pp. 87-88.

> "I declared at that time before thousands of racial comrades: every bullet which now comes out of the barrel of a police gun is my bullet. If one calls this murder, then I have murdered. I have ordered all this, I back it up, I bear the responsibility...." 1/

The Gestapo was also given jurisdiction over the concentration camps, which were established during the same period. Göring himself explains the establishment of concentration camps by the need for liquidating the political opposition:

> "Thus the concentration camps originated, where we sent at first thousands of functionaries of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties. Certainly, in the beginning, excesses did occur. Certainly, here and there, innocents were affected...." 2/

Authorization for the indefinite detention of persons without trial and without sentence was derived from the "Law for the Protection of People and State," 3/ which abolished civil liberties, from Section 42 (a) of the Nazi Criminal Code (Law of 24 November 1933), 4/ and from the decrees of the Prussian Prime Minister of 30 November 1933 and 10 February 1936. 5/

The persecution and elimination of the political oppo-

1/ Ibid., p. 86 f.
2/ Ibid., p. 89.
3/ RGBl I, p. 53.
4/ RGBl I, p. 995.
5/ Preussische Gesetzsammberg. 1933, p. 413.

sition was from the beginning conceived as a war of extermination beyond the limits set by the law and by legal procedures. This was openly announced by Hermann Göring, then the chief of the Prussian Secret State Police: 1/

> "The gentlemen must understand one thing: I do not think of waging merely a defensive war, in a bourgeois manner and with bourgeois hesitancy. No, I am going to give the signal to launch the offensive on the entire line.
>
> "Racial comrades, my measures will not be sicklied over by any juristic scruples. My measures will not be sicklied over by any bureaucracy. Here, I do not have to carry our justice, I have only to destroy and exterminate--nothing else. This struggle, my racial comrades, will be a struggle against chaos, and I do not wage such a struggle simply with the police (mit polizeilichen Machtmitteln). A bourgeois state may have done so. Certainly, I shall also use the powers of the state and of the police to the utmost, lest you draw any wrong conclusions, my Communist gentlemen.. But the death struggle I shall wage with those here below, with the Brown Shirts." 2/

Naturally, no reliable figures are available for the number of political, religious, or racial opponents killed by the Nazis or interned in prisons and concentration camps. However, enough evidence has been accumulated to show that, in most cases without trial, without any legal protection, and without the possibility of appeal for the victims:

1/ Preussische Gesetzsammlung, 1936, p. 21.
2/ Hermann Göring, 3 March 1933 at Frankfurt a.M., in Reden und Aufsätze, Munich, 1942, p. 27.

(1) practically the entire leadership of the Communist Party was exterminated or imprisoned--with the exception of those who could flee from Germany;

(2) many leaders of the Social Democratic Party and of the trade unions were exterminated or imprisoned;

(3) many militant clergymen, Catholic and Protestant, were imprisoned;

(4) uncounted numbers of the rank and file of the political, religious, and ideological opposition were exterminated or imprisoned.

In some instances, the criminal terror also hit dissidents in the Nazi Party itself, and prominent persons in the rightist camp--the so-called Röhm putsch of 1934 is the most notorious example.

In all these cases, treatment of opponents went far beyond the legal limits set by the Nazi Government itself. Not only the commanders of concentration camps and the Gestapo officials, but also every SA and SS man had practically unlimited discretion in the arrest and treatment of the victims. The instances of torture, starvation, and all kinds of maltreatment are uncountable. Some of them are documented in the various reports on the Nazi concentration and internment camps. A large amount of material has been collected by the World Committee for the Victims of German Fascism, by the German Social Democratic Party, and by other labor organizations, and additional evidence can be supplied by the now liberated inmates of the camps.

B. Extermination of the Jews. [1]

Nazi anti-Semitism is distinguished from other forms of anti-Semitism by the fact that it aims at the very extermination of the Jews. To the Nazi mind, the Jew is the racial, political, religious, ideological, and economic arch-enemy: he is the embodiment of everything that, by its very nature, is hostile to Nazism. Reconciliation is therefore impossible: Jewry and Nazism cannot coexist; the war between them is a life and death struggle all over the world.

In the Nazi plan for conquest, this anti-Semitism played from the beginning an essential part:

(1) The Jew was the weakest enemy of Nazism; the attack on him therefore was the most promising and the least risky one.

(2) The Jew was the one enemy against whom the Nazis could hope to unite otherwise divergent masses of supporters.

(3) The elimination of the Jew, as a competitor, would be most profitable to the petty bourgeoisie, which furnished the largest mass support for the Nazi movement.

(4) The Jew was found in all countries; Nazi anti-Semitism was therefore a convenient means for mobilizing

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[1] The Nazi anti-Jewish policy is discussed in a separate war crimes paper, "The Criminal Conspiracy Against the Jews," R&A Report No. 3113.11.

potential Nazi allies in foreign countries, and for stirring up unrest and disorder in foreign countries.

(5) The ubiquity of the Jew as arch-enemy provided the Nazis with a justification for carrying the struggle for power beyond the frontiers of the Reich, for the attack on "Jewish-Bolshevist Russia," for the war with the "Jewish-plutocratic democracies," etc.

For these reasons, anti-Semitism was one of the most effective instruments for the world-wide infiltration and expansion of Nazism. The decisive importance of anti-Semitism in this context is testified to by the fact that anti-Semitism is one of the very few elements of Nazi philosophy which have been unmitigatedly maintained throughout the history of Nazism. Anti-Semitic propaganda, indeed, increased in violence after the outbreak of war, and it remained one of Goebbels' chief weapons for winning adherents and sympathizers for the Nazi cause in the enemy countries.

The Jews were subjected to the same kind of unlawful treatment as the other opposition groups (see above); but, since they were considered the arch-enemy of the Nazi movement, with whom no reconciliation whatsoever was possible, their persecution was even more brutal and inhuman than that of the other opposition groups. In the concentration camps, the Jews belonged to the prisoner groups which were singled out for special maltreatment and torture. By the same token, the number of Jews murdered by the Nazis surpasses the number of all other categories of victims. 1/

C. Establishment of Totalitarian Control over Germany

The avowed aim of the Nazi movement was the establishment of the Nazi dictatorship. This implied that, after the destruction of the democratic-parliamentary system in Germany, the Nazi Movement, through the Party and its affiliated organizations, would seize complete control over the state, all branches of the administration, and all spheres of public life. 2/

The Nazis' aim was accomplished during the years 1933 and 1934. In his speech before the Prussian State Council on 15 September 1933 Göring declared that the goal had been attained: he referred with scorn to the "system of parliamentarism and pacifism" that had been destroyed by the National Socialist revolution. The official Nationalsozialistische Jahrbuch described the events of 1933 as follows:

> "the taking over of leadership by the NSDAP in 1933 brought about the seizure of all power instruments (Machtmittel) and institutions of the state by National Socialism.."; 3/

1/ For documentation see the paper on the Nazi anti-Jewish policy, "The Criminal Conspiracy Against the Jews," R&A Report No. 3113.11.
2/ See pp. 13-14.
3/ Munich 1941, p. 175.

and the official Organisationsbuch der NSDAP confirms that the NSDAP

"dominates the entire public life." 1/

The foundation for the complete control over the state was the Law for the Safeguarding of the Unity between Party and State of 1 December 1933. 2/ According to this law:

> "the NSDAP is the bearer of the German state idea (Staatsgedankens) and is indissolubly joined with the state."

The same law made the Deputy of the Führer and the Chief of Staff of the SA members of the Reich Government, "in order to guarantee the closest collaboration between the offices of the Party and SA on the one hand and the public authorities on the other."

At the very top, Nazi control over the government was solidly anchored in the personal identity of Hitler as Führer of the Party and as Reich Chancellor, and through the vesting of the Chief of the Party Chancellory with the authority of a Reich Minister. 3/ The system of personnel identity extended from the top down through the entire administrative pyramid: identity between Reichsleiter of the Party and Reich Governors,

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1/ Munich 1943, p. 86.
2/ Reichsgesetzblatt 1933, I, p. 529.
3/ Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, loc cit., p. 487.

between Gauleiter of the Party and heads of provincial or state governments, etc. The Reichsführer SS was at the same time Chief of the German Police and later on Minister of the Interior. Party members were placed in key positions in the Reich and Länder Ministries and in all important departments of the national, regional, and local administration. 1/ The government agencies controlling the organization of business and labor were in the hands of trusted Nazis. The Reich Food Estate, which controlled the whole of German agriculture, was a mixed Party and Reich organization. 2/

No less complete was the Nazis' control over public opinion, especially the press, radio, and the other principal means of communication and propaganda. The cornerstone of the legislation establishing this control was the Editorial Law of 4 October 1933. 3/ This law made professional journalistic activity throughout the territory of the Reich "a public task" (öffentliche Aufgabe) "regulated (geregelt) by the state." All journalists had to be registered and approved by the Reichsverband der Deutschen Presse (Reich Press Association). Its President was appointed by the Reich Minister for Enlightenment and

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1/ See war crimes paper, R&A Report No. 3113, "Principal Nazi Organizations Involved in the Commission of War Crimes."
2/ Ibid.
3/ Reichsgesetzblatt 1933, I, p. 713.

Propaganda (Goebbels). Wilhelm Weiss, president throughout the period of the Nazi regime, was at the same time chief editor of the *Völkische Beobachter*. The Reich Press Association was a corporate member of the Press Chamber, whose President, Max Amann, was NSDAP *Reichsleiter* of the Press and chief of the Party's Central Publishing House. The Press Chamber in turn was part of the Reich Chamber of Culture, a subordinate agency of the Reich Propaganda Ministry. This dual channel of Reich and Party controls secured the complete coordination of policy as well as personnel with the Reich and Party authorities. 1/

The controls were centralized in the Reich Propaganda Ministry, operating through its three press divisions: Home Press, Foreign Press, and Periodical Literature. The head of all three of them was Otto Dietrich, Under Secretary of State in charge of press. Since he was at the same time Reich Press Chief and Chief of the Party Press, complete coordination of government and Party controls was fully insured.

Legally, there was no censorship, but the Propaganda Ministry issued daily directives covering the entire policy

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1/ For a detailed description of this setup see R&A Report No. 2500.19 "Propaganda in Occupied Europe"; also: Civil Affairs Handbook on Germany, section 12, *Communications and Control of Public Opinion*.

of the press. 1/ The daily contents of the papers, method of treatment of certain news items, preference or omissions, and setting up of headlines were all prescribed in these directives. The papers were held responsible for strictly following these directives. This "remote control" eliminated the necessity of pre-censorship, while the journalists' compulsory membership in the Reich and Party organizations described above (loss of which made further exercise of the profession impossible) functioned as post-censorship. 2/

In addition to the controls centralized in the Propaganda Ministry, a complete set of Party controls proper existed. They were exercised through the Press Political Division of the NSDAP (headquarters Berlin) and the Press Personnel Division (headquarters Munich), both functioning under Otto Dietrich. The regional organization of these controls was centralized in the Gau Press Office, whose chief was at the same time the ex officio delegate of the Home Press Division of the Reich Propaganda Ministry and of the Reich Press Chamber in the

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1/ Photostatic copies of these directives are available.

2/ Additional evidence of the functioning of these comprehensive controls can be furnished by the interrogation of foreign and German newspaper correspondents, editors, publishers, etc. Some such interrogations are available: see the forthcoming R&A Report No. 2500.19, "Propaganda in Occupied Europe."

respective Party *Gau*. Complete coordination between Reich and Party controls was thus also insured in the regional organization. 1/

A similar system of controls was set up for the entire field of education. The Law on the Hitler Youth of 1 December 1936 2/ organized "the entire German youth within the territory of the Reich" in the Hitler Youth, in order to "educate it physically, mentally, and morally in the spirit of National Socialism." The Reich Youth *Führer* of the NSDAP was made Youth *Führer* of the German Reich and given the position of a Supreme Reich Authority. Subsequent decrees on the execution of this law were promulgated by the *Führer*. The second of these decrees, issued on 25 March 1939, 3/ made service in the Hitler Youth obligatory for all youths from the age of 10 to 18, and subjected them to the "*öffentlich-rechtliche Erziehungsgewalt* (Public Legal Educational Authority) in accordance with the decrees of the *Führer* and Reich Chancellor."

As to the schools, all elementary and secondary school teachers were organized in the NS Teachers League, which, in 1936, also took over the "property rights" of the pre-Hitler

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1/ See Civil Affairs Handbook on Germany: Section 12, *Communications and Control of Public Opinion*.
2/ *Reichsgesetzblatt* 1936, I, p. 993.
3/ *Ibid.* 1939, I, p. 709.

teachers associations. 1/ The university professors were incorporated into the NS Dozentenbund, which was reorganized as a formation of the NSDAP on 24 July 1935. 2/

Control over the entire student body was exercised chiefly through the NS Students League (Studentenschaft). In July 1934, the Deputy of the Führer (then Rudolf Hess) made this organization the exclusive organ responsible "for the ideological, political, and physical training" of the students. 3/ An order of 18 April 1936 made active service in one of the formations of the NSDAP obligatory for all members of the NS Students League. 4/

In general, Nazi controls over education show a pattern similar to those over public opinion. Controls were centralized in the Reich Ministry of Education, a creation of the Nazis. Three Party agencies cooperated with the Ministry on the preparation and censorship of textbooks and other educational material: the Party Official Examination Committee for NS Literature, the Reich Office for School and Instructional

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1/ Nationalsozialistisches Parteikorrespondenz, 4 June 1936.
2/ Das Archiv, ed. Kurt Jahnicke, Ministerial Counselor in the Reich Ministry for Propaganda, July 1935, p. 528.
3/ Das Archiv, loc. cit., July 1934, pp. 467-468.
4/ Ibid., April 1936, p. 11.

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[3] *Das Archiv, loc. cit.*, July 1934, pp. 467-468.
[4] *Ibid.*, April 1936, p. 11.

Literature, and an attached Reich Committee. The first of these agencies published a monthly bibliography (*Nationalsozialistisches Bibliographie*), 1/ listing approved books and pamphlets in all fields of literature.

Through the Party (in the sense described above), the Nazi leadership thus exercised unlimited control over all spheres of public life:

> "In the NSDAP, the *Führer* has created for himself an instrument which, *built up*, developed, and geared to action by him, sets the goal and direction for the entire German people." 2/

> "The taking over of leadership by the NSDAP in 1933 brought about the seizure of all power instruments (*Machtmittle*) and institutions of the state by National *Socialism in* order to mobilize these (instruments and institutions) for the intellectual and psychological preparation of the people for the complete removal of the oppressing treaties and of the humiliating situation of the Reich." 3/

The dictatorial and totalitarian control exercised by the Nazi Party was so complete that, eventually, it comprised not only the public but also the private life of the entire population:

1/ Copies available. For a detailed discussion of educational controls see: Civil Affairs Handbook: Germany, section 15: *Education.*

2/ *Fritz Mehnert*, Chief of the Main Organization Office of the NSDAP, *Nationalsozialistisches Jahrbuch* 1941, ed. Robert Ley, *Zentralverlag der NSDAP*, Franz Eher, Munich p. 175.

3/ *Ibid.*,

> "The organization of the Party is so strong and so thoroughly developed that today it embraces (erfasst) all homes (Haushalte) of all Volksgenossen in the territory of the Reich, including the territories added in the years 1938 and 1939." 1/

The Nazi Party not only established control over the entire machinery of the state (government and general administration) but also integrated the armed forces into the total organization and mobilization of Germany for the execution of the Nazi program. The integration of the armed forces into the Nazi scheme was based on the active support of the Nazi movement by the Army Command, a support which was opposed by only a few individuals, who never became active until Hitler's failure to win the war had become obvious. Collaboration between the Hitler movement and the armed forces dates back to the years immediately after the end of the First World War, when Hitler worked as an agent of the Reichswehr (see IIE above). During the later period of the Weimar Republic, the High Command of the Reichswehr preserved an official neutrality toward the Nazi movement. In January 1933, however, General Werner von Blomberg, divisional commander of the Reichswehr, joined the Hitler government, and from then on the armed forces developed as one of the chief exponents and followers of Nazi ideology and

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1/ Ibid., p. 179.

policy, systematically preparing for the war of aggression.

> "Four and a half years after the proclamation of universal conscription (Wehrfreiheit), which restored the right of every German to fight with the weapon in his hand for the vital rights of his country, the German Wehrmacht was mobilized for the preservation of the Greater German Lebensraum. The Wehrmacht was prepared for this battle...".1/

Numerous declarations of loyalty and support for the Nazi leadership came from the High Command of the Armed Forces. Werner von Blomberg himself, then Colonel General and Reichswehr Minister, declared in 1935:

> "The Wehrmacht protects the German people and its living space. It serves the Führer with unconditional (rückhaltloses) confidence and obedience..." 2/

Moreover, many high army officers joined top Nazi agencies and enterprises (Reich as well as business) in leading positions and as liaison men for example, in the Four Year Plan Office, the Reich Ministry of Economics, and the Speer organizations.3/ Wilhelm Keitel, the Chief of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces, was a member of the Ministerial Council for the Defense of the Reich, while the Armament Council, operating under the Speer Ministry, was made up of leading industrialists and army officers.

1/ Major Schmidtke, Nationalsozialistisches Jahrbuch 1941, p. 168.
2/ Prefatory quotation in: Major H. Foertsch, Die Wehrmacht im Nationalsozialistischen Staat, Hamburg 1935.
3/ Names and details in: Civil Affairs Handbook Germany, Section 2 T: Economic Controls in Nazi Germany, February 1944. A brief list of some representative names is appended to this paper.

VI. REARMAMENT AND PREPARATION FOR THE WAR OF AGGRESSION

A. Rearmament

The elimination of the opposition and the establishment of totalitarian control over Germany fulfilled the precondition for the execution of the aggressive and expansionist foreign policy of the Nazis. After the seizure of power, the Nazi leadership devoted all its efforts to the building up of the armed forces without which the acquisition of new living space was impossible. Hitler himself testified to this effect:

> "The second (condition for our success) was national armament, to which I have fanatically devoted my energies for nearly six years" (1938). 1/

> "Now I can proudly admit: we did then certainly complete an armament such as the world has never yet seen.... I have in fact armed in these five years. I have spent milliards on this armament: that the German people must now know! I have seen to it that a new army should be provided with the most modern armament known. I have given to my friend Göring the order: Make me now an air-arm which can protect Germany in the face of any conceivable attack. Thus we have built up a military force (*Wehrmacht*) of which to-day the German people can be proud and which the world will respect if at any time it makes its appearance." 2/

1/ Saarbrücken, 9 October 1938; *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 10 October 1938 (*Hitler's Speeches*, ed. Baynes, vol. II, p. 1534).

2/ Berlin 26 September 1938, ***Völkischer Beobachter***, 28 September 1938 (quoted *ibid*, p. 1512).

On 16 March 1935, the Nazi government decreed the re-establishment of universal military conscription. This was the beginning of the period of open rearmament. The Nazi rearmament took place according to a preconceived plan, which provided for various stages of rearmament in such a way that the world would not be provoked too much by Germany's violation of the Versailles Treaty, and that at every stage willingness of the world to accept the fait accompli could be tested. This was first revealed in Goebbel's speech at Cologne on 24 January 1936, one and a half months before the occupation of the Rhineland by the new Nazi army:

> "Our program is not yet complete. I can only say what I have said to show you what is coming. We are now playing the overture, and it is one with many leitmotifs. One only takes the world into one's confidence when one has a fait accompli to show. Had we revealed the story of our army prematurely, other armies might have marched in. We worked, and nobody was able to pry." 1/

However, the method of gradual rearmament was abandoned in favor of full-scale rearmament where an entirely new force had to be created. This was the case of the air force. As early as 1935, Göring declared in a statement to the Berlin Foreign Press Association:

1/ Goebbels, cited in The Bulletin of International News, vol. XII, no. 14, p. 572. For complete text see German newspaper of that date - 24 January 1936. For other texts, see Royal Institute of International Affairs, London.

> "...the air force was so strong that any power attacking them would have to face a 'very, very hard struggle in the air.' He added that there was not a single old aeroplane or old engine in the fleet. He continued by saying that he had followed entirely new methods, rejecting a policy of slow and gradual arming, because there would have been a danger of not having the fleet ready 'in the event of difficult moments.' What he had done was to expand technical and industrial capacity to the limit, so that he could create the air arm at a single blow. Aeroplanes had not, before that, been concealed in forests or in the ground; they simply had not been there."1/

The new Wehrmacht was from the very beginning conceived as an essential factor in the expansionist foreign policy; the Nazi Leadership was fully aware of the fact that this policy involved the risk of war, and they were willing to bear that risk. On 5 November 1937, a meeting is said to have been held in the Reich Chancellery at which Hitler, the War Minister (von Blomberg), the Foreign Minister (von Neurath), and the chiefs of the three branches of the armed forces (von Fritsch, von Raeder, Göring) participated. 2/ A report on this meeting is appended (Appendix H). Hitler declared that:

> "in order to solve the German problem, there exists only the way of force, which way is never without risk."

He then outlined the different situations in which force could be applied with the least risk for Germany. Hitler furthermore declared

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1/ Göring cited in same publication, vol. XI, no. 23, p. 779.

2/ The authenticity of this report is yet to be established.

that he was resolved to take action against Czechoslovakia and Austria, and that he was interested in the continuance of the civil war in Spain.

Corroboration of this report may be seen in the ex-post facto statements of other Nazi leaders to the effect that Germany had been willing and ready to use its armed forces if the Munich agreement had not been reached. Thus, with reference to the Sudetenland, Ribbentrop stated before the Foreign Press Association in Berlin on 7 November 1938:

> "In this connection I wish to state that Germany was very much in earnest during this period and that if a solution had not been found in Munich at the eleventh hour the Führer would have freed the Sudetenland by force of arms." 1/

On 1 March 1939 Göring declared that in September 1938 peace had been saved and Germany's right recognized because the world knew that the German armed forces would otherwise have solved the question by other methods. He added:

> "And it was known abroad that we were not bluffing. In those days we were ready. One command - and a hell, an inferno, would have been made for the enemy; a short blow, but his destruction would have been complete." 2/

B. Intervention in Foreign Countries

The rearmament of Germany was accompanied and supplemented by

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1/ Ribbentrop, cited in Bulletin of International News, loc. cit., vol. XV, no. 23, p. 44.

2/ Göring, cited ibid., vol. XVI, no. 5, p. 25.

a series of military and political interventions in foreign countries. This policy was part of the comprehensive plan for expansion and war. Evidence for this is provided by the authoritative statements of responsible Nazi spokesmen that they had vital interests in these countries. Austria was regarded as belonging to the Reich; in the case of Czechoslovakia and Poland, the alleged maltreatment of German national minorities was evoked as justification; and in Spain, Germany made itself the champion in "Europe's struggle against Bolshevism."

These interventions took place on two levels: military and political-economic (Fifth Column activities, business penetration, etc.).

1. Military Intervention

German military interference in foreign countries fulfilled the three-fold purpose of testing the Nazi war potential, testing the degree of opposition on the part of the violated countries and on the part of the great powers, and securing the necessary operational bases for Germany in the event of war.

a. Spain

There is no available record of any admission by Nazi leaders of military intervention during the actual operations. However, the Nazi Government confirmed that German "volunteers" fought with the

Franco troops, 1/ and Hitler has openly declared and sought to justify the contention that Germany could not remain "neutral" in the Spanish civil war:

> "In July 1936 I had just determined to answer the call for help which this man (Franco) sent to me: I would help him to the extent that and so long as the rest of the world should give its support to the domestic foes of Spain.
>
> "From that time National Socialist Germany began to take an active part, under the leadership of this man, in the struggle for the restoration of a national and independent Spain." 2/

Hitler gave as justification for his interference in the Spanish civil war two main reasons: the danger of the spread of "Bolshevism" and the threat to Germany's economic interests in Spain. As regards the latter point, he declared:

> "Germany needs to import ore. That is why we want a Nationalist Government in Spain, so that we may be able to buy Spanish ore." 3/

Further, in his speech before the soldiers of the Condor Legion on their return from the Spanish war, Hitler professed his official sponsorship of their participation on Franco's side:

1/ Hitler's reply to Franco, Frankfurter Zeitung, 24 February 1939 (quoted in: Hitler's Speeches, ed. Baynes, p. 1580).- Wilhelmshafen, 1 April 1939; Völkischer Beobachter, 3 April 1939 (Ibid., p. 1600).

2/ 6 June 1939; Völkischer Beobachter, 7 June 1939 (Ibid.,p. 1671).

3/ Wurzburg, 27 June 1937; Völkischer Beobachter, 28 June 1937 (quoted ibid., p. 1355).

> "For I sent you out to help a country in misfortune, to support a heroic man....You have now returned, having bravely executed my commission....
>
> "It was painful for us all to have to keep silence on your fight year after year, but from the first I had the intention, after the end of this war, to give you in the homeland the reception which brave, victorious soldiers deserve..."1/

And in his telegram to Franco of 9 June 1939 Hitler spoke of

> "the battle which we have waged in common against Bolshevism..." 2/

After the termination of the military operations, the German papers came out with specific statements on the fact and extent of German military intervention:

On 30 May 1939, the German press published many articles on the exploits in Spain of the Condor Legion, Among the details given was the statement that in July 1936, Hitler had decided that he must stand by General Franco in his fight against Bolshevism. On 31 July the first detachment of 85 volunteers, traveling as tourists, left for Cadiz in the liner Usamoro, taking six Heinkel pursuit planes. Simultaneously twenty Junkers transport planes were flown from Berlin to Morocco, and within a few weeks 15,000 men, as well as heavy weapons, had been carried across from Africa. In August, more

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1/ Frankfurter Zeitung, 7 June 1939 (quoted ibid,, p. 1673).

2/ Ibid, 10 June 1939 (quoted ibid., p. 1675).

aircraft, anti-aircraft guns, and tanks were sent, and in November, the Condor Legion left for Spain, under General Sperrle.

The Legion took part in nearly every great action of the war, while German instructors and equipment were sent to organize and conduct artillery, tank, engineer, infantry, and other schools in which 56,000 young Spaniards received instruction. 1/

In addition to strictly military intervention, the Nazis conducted extensive propaganda and Fifth Column activities in Spain. 2/

b. Austria.

From the early days of the Nazi movement, Austria was considered one of the primary objects of Nazi policy. The reunion of Austria with the Reich was on the Nazi program from the beginning. In the first chapter of Mein Kampf, Hitler wrote:

> "German Austria must again come back to the great German motherland.... even if this reunion, from an economic point of view, were immaterial; yes, even if it were harmful, it must none-the-less take place. The same blood belongs in a common Reich."

Hitler also confessed that actual intervention was planned long before it was carried out:

> "I myself, as a son of the Ostmark, was filled with a sacred wish to solve this problem and thus lead my homeland back to the Reich. In January 1938, I finally resolved that in the

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1/ Bulletin of International News, loc. cit., vol. XVI, no. 12, p.614.

2/ The evidence is collected in: The Nazi Conspiracy in Spain, by the editors of The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror, London 1937.

> course of that year, in one way or another, I would fight for and win the right of self-determination for the 6,500,000 Germans in Austria." 1/)

Goebbels confirmed that the annexation of Austria had been for a long time in the Nazis' mind as a preconceived plan:

> "We have solved many of our problems by waiting for a good opportunity. Then we have jumped at it. We could not tell in advance at what time we would annex Austria or occupy the Rhineland or introduce conscription. The real art is to snatch such a thing when the stake is as small as possible and the profit as high as possible. The colonial question will be solved in the same way." 2/

Protests by the Austrian Government against systematic Nazi subversion in Austria were rejected on the ground that the Nazis did not consider such activity as taking place in a foreign country. For example, the head of the Austrian desk in the German Foreign Office stated to the Austrian ambassador, Tauschitz, on 1 August 1934:

> "The NSDAP does not consider Austria to be foreign territory and its propaganda could not stop in front of those illegal frontiers. The Party takes the position that this act does not constitute inter-

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1/ Reichstag speech of 30 January 1939 (Hitler, My New Order, p. 561)

2/ Nurnberg, 7 April 1938 (quoted in Nazi Guide to Nazism, ed. Rolf Tell, Washington 1942, p. 76f) ference with the internal affairs of a foreign state..." 1/)

That the Nazis did not rely on the effect of mere propaganda nor on claims to the "right to self-determination," is reported by Neville Henderson. He stated, on the basis of his conversation with Hitler, that the latter did not intend to rely on the result of a plebiscite in Austria unless such plebiscite were to be held under his own auspices. 2/

The incessant propaganda and Fifth Column activities of the Nazis in Austria started in the early 1920's. They are discussed in VI B2c below.

c. Czechoslovakia.

As with Austria, the incorporation of Czechoslovakia into the German living space was one of the earliest objectives of Nazi policy. This is indicated in the statements quoted in IV B above; it is furthermore expressed in Alfred Rosenberg's authoritative exposition of Nazi foreign policy, made as early as 1927 (see IV B above). Additional confirmation may be found in the interrogation of Karl Hermann Frank, former German State Minister for Bohemia and Moravia, especially the report of an interview with Hitler by an American journalist on 16 January 1935. During this

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1/ Beiträge zur Geschichte und Vorgeschichte der Julirevolte, ed. on the basis of official sources, Bundeskommissariat für Heimatdienst, Vienna, 1934, p. 26.

2/ Hitler's Speeches, ed. Baynes, p. 1441, note 2.

interview, Hitler is said to have stated that

> "Czechoslovakia is an unnatural creation of the treaty of Versailles, a dangerous springboard and aircraft carrier for the Soviets. According to the report of the American journalist, Hitler used then for the first time the word 'Protectorate' when speaking of the relation between Germany and Czechoslovakia." 1/

After the military occupation of Czechoslovakia, Hitler declared openly that

> "this territory has lain in the living space of the German people for a thousand years..." 2/

and that, in occupying the country, he only reasserted

> "the ancient German right and reunited what through its History, its geographical position, and all the rules of reason had to be united." 3/

Konrad Henlein, the Nazi Gauleiter and Reich Governor for Sudetenland, admitted in a public lecture given at Vienna on 4 March 1941 that

> "as far back as 1933-1934 he founded his Nazi party in Czechoslovakia in agreement with Berlin and with the only aim of destroying the whole Czechoslovak

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1/ Interrogation by Dr. B. Ecer, 30 May 1945, p.5 (photostat available).

2/ Wilhelmshafen, 1 April 1939, *Völkischer Beobachter*, 3 April 1939 (*Hitler's Speeches, ed. Baynes*, p. 1597).

3/ *Ibid.*

republic." 1/

Officially, military intervention by the Nazis was usually justified by the allegation of mistreatment of German nationals in the respective countries, and violence and terror on the part of the non-German population or governments. 2/ The extent to which such incidents were either instigated by the Nazis or simply fabricated may be ascertained by interrogations of members of the anti-Nazi population or of non-German nationals in the respective border regions. In the case of Poland, evidence is available which shows the carefully planned fabrication and staging of border incidents on the part of the Nazis. This evidence consists in part of the testimony 3/ of one Alfred Naujocks, who worked as an agent of Reinhardt Heydrich, then chief of the German Security Police. He stated that:

> "On 10 August 1939, N. was told by Heydrich that Hitler was planning to attack Poland within a month and therefore

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1/ Quoted in Czechoslovak Documents and Sources, no.4: *German Imperialism and Czechoslovakia*. Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Information Service, London 1943, p. 6.

2/ See for example Hitler's speeches of 12 and 26 September 1938. Baynes, *op.cit.* p. 1487 FF and p. 1508 FF.

3/ Camp 020 Report, 13 January 1945, OSS XX-27S 614-627 it would be necessary to stage some 'frontier incidents' to persuade the world that the Poles made the first aggressive move, not the Germans. In this way Naujocks believes Hitler prepared for Germany's unprovoked attack on Poland, being able in his September 1, 1939 speech to express his anger at the 'Polish frontier outrages' and assure his audience that such insults could only be answered by the sword.

"The first step in this nefarious scheme was to pick selected life-term prisoners from the concentration camps, kill them by means of hypodermic injections, dress them in Polish army uniforms, and after riddling their bodies with bullets, place them in carefully chosen positions in German frontier villages of Upper Silesia. The casual observer would then think that small parties of Polish troops had been **carrying out** abortive raids on Reich territory.

"The bodies were forwarded to specified villages in packing cases labelled 'preserves'. Some of the victims arrived at their destination only half dead, having received inadequate dosage and had to be killed before they could be used.

"In order to substantiate these 'frontier incidents,' Heydrich and his cohorts decided to publish a story to the effect that the Gleiwitz broadcasting station had been attacked by Polish insurgents.

"On orders from Heydrich, Naujocks went to that town with five or six men. On his arrival he arranged for a Polish speaking German to take possession of the microphone by 'force' and to broadcast an appeal to his 'countrymen', urging them to rise up against the Germans. The broadcast was then broken off, shots were fired and finally a corpse provided by Naujocks, was left on the floor, riddled with bullets."

2. Political Infiltration.

Nazi military intervention in foreign countries was systematically prepared and supplemented by large-scale Nazi infiltration long before the actual assault. Much of the basic evidence has been collected in National Socialism, ed. Raymond E. Murphy and others, US Department of State, Washington 1943. The Nazis employed several methods for such infiltration, all of which were centrally directed and supervised by the respective Nazi Party or government agencies. The chief methods used by the Nazis were:

(1) Working through German nationals in foreign countries.

(2) Working through indigenous pro-Nazi groups and individuals in foreign countries.

(3) Working through apparently unpolitical and peaceful business connections.

(4) Working through especially trained agents.

(5) Use of "cultural cooperation" for Nazi propaganda.

(6) Acquisition of interests in the foreign press and in other means of communication and propaganda.

These Nazi activities were designed to weaken or overthrow the established governments in foreign countries which were likely to resist Nazi aggression. 1/ This aim was to be

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1/ For Austria prior to 1933, the documentary evidence has been collected in: Das Braunbuch. Hakenkreuz gegen Oesterreich. ed. by the Bundes-Kanzleramt, Vienna, 1933.

attained by creating disorder and terror and by winning over to the Nazi cause powerful groups in the respective countries. These groups later became the nuclei of Nazi collaboration in government and business.

The Nazis used an entire network of agencies and organizations for implementing their infiltration tactics in foreign countries. The first official Nazi Party organization designed for work in foreign countries was the *Auslandsorganisation der Reichsleitung der NSDAP* (established as Foreign Section of the Reich Directorate of the NSDAP **in 1931,** reorganized as Foreign Organization of the NSDAP in 1934). In 1937, Ernst Wilhelm Bohle, then the head of the organization, was transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, an arrangement which demonstrated the official link between the foreign propaganda agency of the Nazi Party and the Nazi Reich government. 1/

In addition to the *Auslandsorganisation*, the Nazis used many other agencies and organizations, among them such institutions of long pre-Nazi standing as the *Verein für Deutschtum im Ausland*, and the *Deutsche Auslands Institut* (League for

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1/ Emil Ehrich, *Die Auslandsorganization der NSDAP*, Berlin 1937; translation in: *National Socialism*, ed. Raymond E. Murphy and others, Washington 1943, p. 285 ff.

Germandom in Foreign Countries) and the German Foreign Institute.

Wherever Nazi parties existed in foreign countries (as in Austria and Czechoslovakia), they were systematically employed as spearheads of Nazi penetration and as central terror agencies directed against foreign democratic governments. Everywhere, the Nazi Fifth Column promoted and fostered anti-Semitic tendencies with the object of creating unrest and disunity in foreign countries.

As early as 1934, the Völkischer Beobachter boasted that, through the Auslandsorganization, Nazism had extended its tentacles all over the world:

> "The influence of the Nazi Party in foreign countries extends literally around the entire globe. 'My sphere is the whole world' might aptly be placed over our headquarters in Hamburg. This Foreign Organization... comprises today more than 350 national branches and fulcrum points of the Nazi Party everywhere.... The Nazi Party will develop even further in an effort to transplant to all foreign countries the objectives of the National Socialist Reich." 1/

1/ Völkischer Beobachter , 24 May 1934 (quoted in: Sir John Murray, The Nazi International. Friends of Europe Publications No. 69. London, 1938, p.6.

By virtue of the incorporation of all foreign Nazi parties and groups into the Foreign Organization of the NSDAP, the activities of these parties and groups were centrally supervised and directed by the German Party and government authorities.

a. Spain

Material on the organization and activities of the Nazi Party and its agents in Spain has been collected (together with photostats of documents) in: The Nazi Conspiracy in Spain, by the editor of the Brown Book of the Hitler Terror, London 1937.

b. Austria

The Nazi movement in Austria dates back to the early 1920's. In 1926, the Austrian Nazi Party was made a Gau of the NSDAP. From then on, all political, cultural, and military organizations of the Nazi Party in Austria were integral organizational parts of the NSDAP. The Nationalsozialistisches Jahrbuch for 1934 lists on pp. 139-141 the then (33) Gauleitungen of the NSDAP and, as the last of them, the Landesleitung Oesterreich.

The Nazi Party in Austria committed a series of criminal acts (including murder, arson, assault, etc.) directed against the legally established Austrian Government and its supporters and culminating in the putsch of July 1934, which led to the murder of Chancellor Dollfuss. 1/

3. Economic Penetration.

One of the most effective methods of Nazi penetration in foreign countries was to work through normal business channels. Clever utilization and expansion of international business connections played a decisive part in the Nazi plan for the domination of Europe and prepared, accompanied, and supplemented military intervention and occupation. The foundation for this policy was laid in Hitler's speech before the Industry Club at Düsseldorf (quoted above, IVB), which tried to demonstrate that the future of German business was intrinsically tied up with an aggressive and expansionist German foreign policy, backed by the power of the sword. Actually, German business followed upon the heels of the German Wehrmacht and incorporated the occupied territories into a vast industrial and financial empire, ruled by the key German enterprises. (This phase of Nazi domination is dealt with in a separate war crimes paper.) 2

How effectively German business was prepared for the job may be illustrated by one example:

1/ Material on criminal Nazi activities in Austria (together with photostats of documents) has been collected in: *Beiträge zur Vorgeschichte der Julirevolte*, ed. on the basis of official sources, Vienna 1934, *Bundeskommissariat für Heimatdienst*.

2/ "Nazi Spoliation of Property in Occupied Europe", R&A Report 3113.2

> "On the very day of the occupation of Prague (15 March 1939), representatives of the Deutsche Bank presented themselves at the Bohemian Union Bank in Prague and proposed to "protect" the interests of the Bohemian Bank, threatening that the Bank would be considered a "Jewish enterprise" subject to confiscation if their offer was rejected." 1/

The Deutsche Bank had also ready a whole series of monographs (Oesterreich im Deutschen Wirtschaftsraum; Das Sudetenland im Deutschen Wirtschaftsraum; Bohmen und Mahren Im Deutschen Wirtschaftsraum) which contained a detailed analysis of the business facilities and opportunities in these countries. 2/

This method was predicated upon full-scale collaboration of the German industrialists, whose enterprises and holdings provided the nuclei of expansion. Many of the most powerful German industrialists had supported the Nazi movement prior to Hitler's rise to power, others followed suit, and, by the beginning of the war, the Nazification of German industry had been completed. The Nazi political leadership was instrumental in the formulation and implementation of German economic policy in all branches of the war economy. Top Nazis were

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1/ Czechoslovakia: Money and Banking. Prepared by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, May 1945, p. 157.

2/ Copies available.

sitting on the boards of the most important industrial and commercial enterprises, just as top industrialists occupied leading positions in the Nazi organization of the economy. Close liaison existed between industry and the High Command of the Wehrmacht. 1/

This amalgamation between the Nazi political hierarchy and the industrial leadership was the basis for the German exploitation and spoliation of occupied territories. After the German armies had conquered these territories, the Nazi leadership turned over to the German industrialists vast properties and labor power as reward for their collaboration.

VII. THE CONCEPT OF LEBENSRAUM AND GROSSRAUMORDNUNG

The Nazi occupation policy was the logical development and the realization of the Nazi concept of Lebensraum. In its basic principles, this policy was thus not fabricated *ad hoc*, but conceived beforehand as part of the Nazi master plan for the domination of Europe.

To show this, it is necessary to follow the development of the Nazi idea of living space in its later phases.

Around 1940 the German concept of Lebensraum assumed

1/ The entire organizational structure is described in: Civil Affairs Handbook Germany, section 2T: Economic Control in Nazi Germany. 1944.

more definite shape and emerged as meaning the domination of Europe by Nazi Germany. With the success of the first war year, the language of the Nazis became even less inhibited and blunter. On 14 July 1940, the Frankfurter Zeitung declared that the first phase of the "European revolution" was completed under the instrumentality of German arms.

> "For the first time in history the task of the whole continent from its center was conceived as a politically membered entity, not from the standpoint of obsolete rivalries but in order to organize the needs of nations on the Führer principle. The nucleus of the new order was not changes of frontiers, but the union of the whole continent under German and Italian leadership, with a clear demarcation and graduation of the responsibilities of its members."1/

One day later, a Foreign Office spokesman told the foreign press in Berlin that:

> "Nobody now contests that Germany and Italy are predestined to reorganize Europe on a new basis." He further declared that "National Socialist values are of a super-state significance and the expression of the demands of the 20th Century, while it is of determinative significance that the reorganization of Europe should be carried out pre-eminently under the leadership of the best and most successful organizing people." 2/

On 20 July 1940, it was announced in Berlin that Schacht 3/ had completed the task entrusted to him by Hitler of prepar-

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1/ Quoted in Bulletin of International News, vol.XVII,No.15,p.966.

2/ Quoted ibid.

3/ Further interrogation of Schacht is indicated here.

ing a plan for the post-war economic co-ordination of the whole of Europe, to be ready for use in the near future. His plan was embodied in a memorandum consisting of three parts: (1) general principles for the reorganization of Europe; (2) specific proposals on currency questions; (3) a program of colonial development. 1/

On 1 August 1940, the *Berliner Borsenzeitung* wrote that the German people must now rise to its European mission. Only a nation conscious of its European responsibilities had the right to a part in historically constructive work. Hence, both France, contaminated by Judaism, and Plutocratic England were not entitled to lead. The paper added that "leader-peoples" bore the responsibility not only for their own national destiny but for the smaller peoples belonging to the same *Lebensraum*. 2/

The whole concept is summed up in *Das Reich*, which declared on 23 October 1940 that:

> "Our people are destined to be the pivot and leaders of the new European order. They must always fight against the temptation to devote their energies to the good of others. That temptation was never as great as now." 3/

1/ Quoted *ibid*, p. 968.

2/ Quoted *ibid*., vol. XVII, no. 16, p. 1036.

3/ Quoted *ibid*., vol. XVII, no. 22, p. 1449 f.

This "new European order" which was soon taking form under the Nazi occupation policy was further defined and organized under the concept of *Grossraumordnung* (large space order). The conception was most fully developed in the years 1938-1940 by Werner Daitz, Reich Commissar of the Economic-Political Office of the *Reichsleitung* of the NSDAP, and member of the Reich Economic Council of the *Reichsleitung* of the NSDAP. Daitz defined the European *Grossraum* economy emerging under Adolf Hitler as:

> "the Reich of the *Hanse*, which established an economic, operational, and cultural order (*Wirtschafts -*, *Arbeits- und Kulturkreis*) extending from the Black Sea over Danube, Main, Rhine, Flanders, North Sea, Baltic Sea, Ilmen Lake, Djnepr, Black Sea, and uniting all peoples comprised in this *Verkehrszirkel* (operational circle) or bordering on it, into one European *Grossraum* economy." 1/

He stated explicitly that "the European continent must re-emerge there where, around 1500, the Hanseatic *Grossraum* economy came to an end." 2/

This whole European *Grossraum* was to be divided between German and Italian leadership. The Greater German Reich had its geopolitical basis in the *Nordostseeraum* (space of the North and Baltic Sea) with the *Ostraum* be-

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1/ "*Das Neue Europa*, *Deutsches Recht*, Ausgabe A, X, no.49, 1940, p. 2083.

2/ *Ibid.*, p. 2084.

longing to its "living and economic space," while Fascist Italy dominated the **Mediterranean space.** 1/

In his article of 1932, which was reprinted in 1938 (see VII above), Daitz made it perfectly clear that the economic integration into *Grossraum* spaces was at the same time to be a political integration since:

> "It is necessary for every nation that its space of economic autarchy, that is, everything that it needs for the maintenance of its economic and state-political independence, lie within its political frontiers." 2/

The same article outlined the direction of the German *Ostraum* policy as the:

> "activation of the entire belt of states from Latvia down to the Black Sea." 3/

and demanded the building up of a strong navy for the protection of this *Ostraum* policy:

> "Under no circumstances can Germany neglect building up its navy so that it can at any time bar (*sperren*) the Sound, the Straits, and the North Sea-Baltic Canal, the gates to Germany's future living and economic space, the *Ostraum*." 4/

1/ *Ibid.*,also Werner Daitz, "*Aussenhandelspolitik und Ostraumpolitik*", *Der Weg zur voelkischen Wirtschaft und zur Europaeischen Grossraumwirtschaft*, Dresden,1938.,vol.II: *Deutschland und die Europaeische Grossraumwirtschaft*,p.72 ff.- Daitz' article was reprinted from *Nationalsozialistischer Wirtschaftsdienst*, no. 23, 3 October 1932.

2. "*Aussenhandelspolitik und Ostraumpolitik*" *op.cit.*,p.74.

3/ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

4/ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

While thus proclaiming their "mission" to dominate Europe, the Nazis did not neglect to continue their preparations for the incorporation of "adjacent" African territory into the European Grossraum. On 29 April 1941, the appointment of General von Epp as Minister for Colonies was announced. On the same day, a Government spokesman stated that Germany had for years been making the most systematic preparations for the administration of a vast African empire as an adjunct to Europe. 1/

Some statements by the Nazi leaders indicate that, in their mind, the German "mission" had assumed the form, not only of European, but even of world leadership. For example, in an address to students in Berlin, Goebbels claimed as early as 14 June 1939 that "not Great Britain but Germany should rule the world." 2/

Hans Frank, the Governor General of Poland, declared on 21 December 1941 in Cracow that

> "It is the greatest gift of heaven to be able to call oneself a German, and we are proud to master the world as Germans. Today Adolf Hitler is called upon to be the leader of the world - unhampered by anyone." 3/

1/ Bulletin of International News., vol. XVIII, No. 10, p. 653.

2/ Quoted ibid., vol. XVI, no. 13, p. 674.

3/ Quoted ibid., vol. XVII, no. 26, p. 1737.

The idea of a European Grossraumordnung under German domination became an established fact of Nazi policy, and the Nazis announced that the fact was meant to stay. For example, in 1940, the Deutsche Auslandswissenschaftliche Institut (Institute for Research on Foreign Countries) arranged a series of lectures on Probleme des Europaischen Grosswirtschaftsraumes. The Institute was the nucleus of Office VII of the Security Service of the Reichsfuhrer SS, headed by Franz Alfred Six, who was at the same time the head of the Kulturpolitische Abteilung in the Foreign Office. The lectures were published in 1943 in a series edited by Six. They contain the following statements:

> "Within its new frontiers Greater Germany which, after the victory of its arms, is entitled to the political, economic, and cultural leadership in the European space together with its Axis partner, must militarily, military-economically (wehrwirtschaftlich), and morally be and remain so strong that any attempt to change this state of affairs through intra - or extra European forces is a priori without a chance of success." 1/

> "The Central European Space, essentially the Greater German Reich with at present 880,000 square kilometers and 112 million inhabitants, is not only geographically and politically, but also economically the natural center of gravity for continental Europe... A stable foundation for the economic reorganization of Europe is first provided chiefly by the cooperation of the Central and South Eastern European space which is to a

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1/ Probleme des Europaischen Grosswirtschaftsraumes, Berlin, 1943, p. 14

> great extent independent of Great Britain and Overseas and which is economically stable with South Europe. From this foundation can then be undertaken a cautious incorporation (Einbau) into the new order of the North - and West European spaces (Teilraume). which are strongly sensitive to crises." 1/

These statements -- and the quotations from Werner Daitz -- also show that the idea of the New Order as Grossraumerdnung contained from the very beginning the Nazi policy of economic expansion and integration as it developed under the Nazi occupation. 2/

VIII. UNLAWFUL ELEMENTS OF NAZI OCCUPATION POLICY

A. General

Daitz' exposition reveals the chief elements which become basic for the Nazi occupation policy: the idea of the "leading nation" (the Greater German Reich) with the mission of "organizing" the European Grossraum on the economic, political, and cultural levels; and the division of the Grossraum into (a) the leading nation's own autarkic living space, (b) this nation's economic living space, which, after acquisition from without, is to be included in its national frontiers, and (c) the territories bordering on the

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1/ Ibid. pp. 30-31.
2/ See next chapter, and the war crimes paper "Criminal Responsibilities in Connection with Planning and Execution of Occupation Policy", R&A Report No. 3113.

national and economic living space. This conception was explicitly tied up with Nazi occupation policy by Werner Best, 1/ who also played an important part in its execution. (He was chief of the Civil Administration in occupied France, and German Plenipotentiary in Denmark.) From this concept was derived the idea of differential treatment for the different peoples in the *Grossraum*: the population in the "racial core" of the living space of the "leading nation" was to receive better treatment and, accordingly, a higher form of administration, granting them rights of self-government which were withheld from the population in the more remote parts of the *Grossraum*. This required a variety of types of administration of the occupied territories, ranging all the way from an "alliance administration" with a certain amount of independence for the administered country, down to a "colonial administration," which concentrated all powers in the hands of the Nazi Government. 2/

According to Werner Best, the German people was called upon to rule (*walten*) not only over "its own folkish order but also over the manifold parts of a growing "*Grossraumord-*

1/ "*Grossraumordnung und Grossraumverwaltung*," *Zeitschrift für Politik*, 1941; "*Grundlagen einer deutschen Grossraumverwaltung*," in: *Festgabe fur Heinrich Himmler*, *Darmstadt*, *1941*, p. 43 ff.

2/ *Ibid.*

nung." This tremendous task did not allow of any "division or splitting-up" of administrative functions: to the ruled peoples, the ruling power of the German nation had rather to demonstrate itself as a unified and centralized power. 1/ The "leading nation" would exercise power over all spheres of public life and possess "total leadership" (*Totalitat der Führung*), which includes administration as well as *politische Menschenfuhrung*. 2/

Stripped of its metaphysical terminology, this meant that the "leading nation" had the right, even the "mission", to use all material and human resources within the scope of its *Grossraum* for the preservation of its own dominant position. The entire political, cultural, and economic life of the "ruled peoples" had to be geared to the requirements of the "leading nation." If this nation were at war, the entire population of the *Grossraum* would have to work for its war effort:

> "The task of *Grossraumwirtschaft*, which is coming into its stride, is to mobilize all the people in this space. It must be expressly pointed out that none of

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1/ Werner Best, *Festgabe für Heinrich Himmler*, *loc. cit.*, p. 37.

2/ Arthur Seyss-Inquart, "*Die politische Aufgabe des Reichskommissars*," *Zeitschrift für voilkische Verfassung und Verwaltung*, 1942, vol. VII, p. III.

> the countries belonging to this space will be allowed to stay aside." 1/

This mobilization is to be carried through without "obsolete" considerations for the standard of living of the population in these countries:

> "The obsolete views concerning the maintenance of the present standard of living, which are held, for instance, in the countries of western and northern Europe, are no longer of importance and cannot be recognized by us. The necessity of mobilizing all efforts for the war dominates the present hour." 2/

The Nazis recognized neither international nor national limitations upon the forcible, compulsory incorporation of the occupied territories into the German war machine. The degree of terror and compulsion applied in the implementation of the Nazi measures varied with the degree of native cooperation and resistance. However, the following illegal and criminal measures were applied everywhere in pursuance of the Nazi occupation policy:

(1) Forcible eviction and deportation of the native population beyond "military necessity." In many cases, the land and the property of the evicted were awarded to Nazis or to Nazi sympathizers in the occupied countries.

1/ The President of the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce, at a New Year's gathering, 1943. Quoted in: _Germany_: (British) _Basic Handbook_, Part III, p. 3.

2/ _Ibid_.

(2) Wholesale confiscation of property (state as well as private).

(3) Spoliation and exploitation of the occupied countries beyond "military necessity" in favor of German business, Nazi Party and government officials, Nazi collaborationists, etc.

(4) Punitive measures against the civilian population of the occupied countries: indiscriminate killings, shooting of hostages, burning down of houses and villages, internment, torturing, starvation, etc.

(5) Unlawful treatment of military personnel belonging to the occupied countries.

Documentation on the criminal character of the Nazi occupation policy is provided in the war crimes paper "Criminal Responsibilities in Connection with Planning and Execution of Occupation Policy" R&A Report No. 3113. Criminal methods were used in all forms of Nazi administration of occupied countries, but they were made the very principle of administration in the form described by Best as "colonial administration" (see above) and applied chiefly to the occupied Eastern European territories. Best described the principles of this form of administration as follows:

> "The law of the colonial administration is posited without limitations by the government of the leading nation or its colonial authorities as the immediate right of the leading nation.....As regards the preservation of the natives (Eingeborene), it should be noted that according to experience, they react against lebensfeindliche(life-destroying) measures of the colonial administration by dying out (Aussterben),since they are

unable to offer resistance." 1/

B. Political Controls

The Nazi occupation policy was geared not only to full administrative but also to full political control. 2/ Direct control by the Nazi Party and its affiliates over the occupied territories was achieved through the establishment of Arbeitsbereiche (Activity Spheres) or, in the incorporated areas, Gaue of the NSDAP, The first of these Activity Spheres was established in the Government General on 6 May 1940. 3/

The administrative setup in the occupied territories shows that the terroristic machine was from the beginning conceived as an integral part of the administration. This is demonstrated by the fact that the Higher SS authorities were superimposed upon the general administration, responsible directly to Himmler. 4/ In most cases, the Higher SS and Police leaders also held the office of Public Safety in the central administrative machinery of the respective countries.

1/ Werner Best, Festgabe für Heinrich Himmler, op.cit., p.58.

2/ See VIII A above, especially the statement of Seyss-Inquart.

3/ Das Recht des Generalgouvernements, Cracow, 1941, p. A 180.

4/ See the interrogation of Karl Hermann Frank, quoted above, VI, B 1 C.

As early as 1939, the Higher SS and Police Leaders were made responsible for Germanization in all territories already annexed or to be annexed, and in the same year Himmler himself was appointed Reichskommissar für die Festigung des Deutschen Volkstums (Reich Commissar for the Strengthening of German Folkdom).1/This agency conducted to a great extent the policy of Germanization of the occupied countries.

One of the chief instruments of Germanization was the Deutsche Volksliste (German Racial Register), which established in the occupied territories four categories of candidates for German citizenship, with varying privileges and duties. The Racial Register was determined by the Reichsführer SS in his capacity as Reich Commissar for the Strengthening of German Folkdom, and by the Reich Minister of the Interior. 2/ For details of the Germanization procedures, see war crimes paper on "Criminal Responsibilities in Connection with Planning and Execution of Occupation Policies," R & A Report No. 3113.

C. Economic Exploitation

Terroristic political controls over the occupied terri-

1/ Organisationsbuch der NSDAP, 1943, p. 314.

2/ Reichsgesetzblatt 1941, I, pp.118-120 for the Eastern territories. In the Reichsgau Wartheland, the Racial Register was established as early as 1939: Verordnungsblatt des Reischsstatthalters im Reichsgau Wartheland, no. 6, 1939, p. 51

tories were supplemented by a tight net of economic controls, adapted to and even integrated into the pattern of control that prevailed in Germany. These controls were exercised through close cooperation and coordination of agencies of the Nazi Government and of the self-government system of business which was set up in 1943. Within this framework of organization, the entire economy of the occupied countries was compulsorily organized and made the organ of Nazi spoliation and exploitation. The large German industrial and commercial enterprises were the chief beneficiaries of these activities: the *Reichsvereinigungen*, the German compulsory peak cartels, were entrusted with the task of "organizing" European resources, and innumerable German firms operated in the occupied countries, either directly or through branches and subsidiaries.

The policy of economic spoliation and exploitation was determined by central German agencies. The most important ones were:

(1) Delegate for the Four Year Plan (Göring). Authorization was given, or assumed, among others, in the "Decree on the Planned Utilization of the Occupied Western Territories for the German War Economy" (26 August 1940) 1/ and in the "Decree on the Utilization of the Occupied Eastern Territories for the German War Economy." (29 July 1941). 2/

(2) Speer's Ministry for Armament and War Production, operating mainly through Armament Inspectors.

(3) Several Reich Commissioners and Inspectors, directly responsible to Hitler or Göring.

1/ *Vierjalnesplan direchire* #14395, quoted in *Kommentarfui Wirtschafsgesetzgebring*.

2/ Referred to in *The Heilungs Blattdes Wirtsdafts-und Rirsteingsanites*/OKW, 1942, p, 83.